

Samuel W. Williams.

Pictures of Early Methodism in Ohio

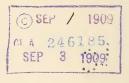
By SAMUEL W. WILLIAMS

"I have considered the days of old, the years of ancient times."—Psalm lxxvii, 5.

CINCINNATI: JENNINGS AND GRAHAM NEW YORK: EATON AND MAINS

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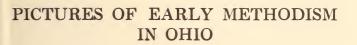
PREFACE

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THE author of these Pictures has endeavored to make them true to life. They are a record of actual facts; and if the reader shall find any new information concerning the Church in the wilderness, or any new inspiration for Christian work, it is what the writer has himself sought for and has striven to present. It has been to him no unpleasant task to bring together and offer these memorials of a by-gone generation. Many of the old pioneers of Ohio Methodism he knew personally when a child, and loved. To their reminiscences, and especially to the papers left by his father, he is indebted for much of the information contained in these S. W. W. pages.

Cincinnati.







Ι

PIONEER LIFE AND MANNERS

THE tide of emigration began to flow westward from the Atlantic provinces across the Alleghenies and over the Cumberland range of mountains as early as 1770. By treaty with and purchase from the Indians, the government became possessed of all the lands south of the Ohio, including Kentucky, Western Virginia, and Western Pennsylvania, in 1768; and many of the rich lands of the Upper Ohio were parceled out for bounties to the officers and soldiers who had served in the French and English wars. Settlements began to be made on the Kanawha and in Kentucky; a few were established along the waters of the Monongahela. In the Indian country there were two or three missionary stations planted by the

Moravian brethren, and one or two trading posts; but it was not until after the Revolutionary War and the cession of Virginia's claims to the general government of the territory northwest of the Ohio River that the first colony was planted in that part of the country. This was effected at Marietta, April 7, 1788. The next year Cincinnati was founded; and before the end of the century a large part of Southern Ohio was occupied by settlers.

Fortunately the Scioto country began to attract emigrants, especially from the South, as a large portion of it was covered with military warrants, located and surveyed for the owners residing in that part of the Union. The inroads of hostile Indians were now less to be feared. Though scouting parties and surveyors had partially explored the territory, very few clearings had been made, and there were still dangers to be encountered nearly the entire length of the river voyage from Wheeling down. Still the in-

trepid pioneers pushed on. By midsummer of 1794 the attacks of the Indians became less frequent, and were made by smaller bands than heretofore, owing to the fact that General Wayne had invaded the hostile country with an overwhelming force. In August, 1795, the glad tidings came to the East that peace was made with the red man by the treaty of Greenville. At once an immense area was thrown open to settlement. Thousands of families poured in to take possession. Nearly all of them were from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the adjoining States on the East.

Most of the goods transported from the older settlements and the manufacturing towns were brought across the mountains on pack-horses, though some came by wagons. Very few roads were laid out, and none farther west than Pittsburgh. From thence goods and household wares and implements could be carried on flatboats or in canoes to the nearest river landing. As the first

settlements were on the larger streams, very few teams were used, and carriage by packhorses was not required for long distances. As the country opened up, roads were laid out and a few log bridges built for neighborhood accommodation. Trading posts were ere long established and many articles of household necessity were kept on sale. Domestic goods of flax and wool were soon manufactured—the women doing the carding and spinning by hand, and often working at the loom. Hats, boots, shoes, harness, and some kinds of hardware and machinery, and many other articles were in process of time made in the pioneer towns; while mills and blacksmith shops were set up as soon as there was population enough to require them.

The first habitations erected by the settlers were cabins of round logs, well chinked and daubed with clay, roofed with split clapboards held in place by cross-poles fastened with pins, and floored, if floored at all, with puncheons or hewed pieces of timber notched

into huge sleepers laid on the ground at the sides. The windows were simply openings made by sawing out a portion of one of the logs, and covering the space in cold weather with greased paper. This was often pecked into holes, when snow covered the ground, by the half-starved birds. Glass sash, with lights eight by ten inches, were after a while introduced in the settlements along the generally traveled thoroughfares or the navigable streams. The cabin doors were made of split boards, hung on wooden hinges, and fastened with a wooden latch lifted from the outside by a leather thong or string. The capacious fireplace, occupying nearly the entire width of one end of the cabin, was built of stone (bricks were an article then unknown in the West), and the chimney was constructed of split fagots or sticks piled in alternate courses in a stack, and plastered with mud to prevent their burning. The hearthstones, where any were laid, were large and afforded sufficient protection

against the sparks which from the ample logs were apt to snap out.

As there were no friction matches known until many years of the century had flown by, the primitive fathers had to depend on the flint and steel to start their fires. Light tinder was used to receive the spark, which was soon fanned into a flame to kindle dry wood. Most housekeepers kept fire alive in their fireplaces by covering the coals with ashes in the evening when cooking was done, or when bed-time came. It was important, too, to have great back-logs that would not burn out rapidly. Green buckeye was a favorite timber for this purpose, as it is a close grained, soft wood, and retains the moisture of the sap for a long while. It also makes good coals for broiling or baking. Where the flint and steel were lacking, or the tinder was not prepared, it was necessary to borrow a shovelful of coals from the nearest neighbor. Sometimes fire could be carried with a piece of spunk or rotten wood.

The cabins had no cellars, though a hole was sometimes dug in front of the fireplace and covered with split or hewed boards, for the storage of potatoes and other roots. Milk and butter were preserved in springhouses or in outside vaults beneath sodded mounds of earth. Sometimes there were garrets floored with boards, and reached by a ladder set up in one corner of the cabin. Here were spread beds for the children and occasional visitors—at first upon the floor itself, the ticks being filled with straw or shredded corn husks, and afterwards upon bedsteads or canvas cots. These garrets seldom contained windows, but sufficient light and air came through the wide chinks between the logs and rafters. Through these also the rain sometimes beat during storms, and the snow frequently drifted. But thick skin robes and heavy blankets sufficiently protected the sleepers at night from the cold.

The ordinary dress of the people was of domestic manufacture, from linsey-wool-

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sey or cotton cloth, and tow linen. The women wore short gowns, gathered loosely in the waist, and reaching below the hips, with a quilted skirt or petticoat. The men wore buckskin small-clothes or trousers and linen hunting-shirts; sometimes entire suits of domestic woolen goods, drab, gray, or brown—their coats having brass or whitemetal buttons about the size of a silver half-dollar. Both sexes at home went barefoot in summer; abroad, they had moccasins or coarse shoes, with or without stockings, according to the weather.

The bread-stuffs of the pioneers were wheat and maize—both transported across the mountains until they began to raise grain for themselves. Of meat they had abundance in the wild game, much of which was cured by "jerking," as dry-salting was too expensive. Salt was scarce and dear, and what little was to be had was often dark and bitter. The grain was pounded in wooden mortars, usually the scooped-out stump of a tree, or

ground in a "tub-mill;" but in either case the meal was coarse and was commonly used without sifting. Of native fruits there was a great variety, and some of an excellent quality. The flavor of the strawberry has not been improved by cultivation, though its size has been greatly increased; but the wild blackberry and raspberry are equal to any grown in the gardens. Orchards of apples and cherries were early set out, many of them seedlings; but grafted fruit was occasionally introduced from the East.

If their fare was coarse, it was whole-some and good, and there was generally no lack. A few days' hunting at the proper season was sufficient to provide flesh-food for several months. There was abundance of venison in the forests, and wild turkeys were often seen in large flocks. Upon the latter it was unnecessary to spend ammunition, as they were usually caught in traps, or covered pens, with the lower part of one side left open. Corn was strewed around,

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and the foolish birds entered; but not dis-

covering a way of escape at the top, they never thought to retreat by the entrance at the bottom. Pride with them knew no fall, until they were slaughtered for food. If the turkey was young and tender, it might be prepared for the table by skinning it, instead of plucking, and reasting it on a spit before an open fire, catching the gravy in a dripping-pan. Stoves were, of course, unknown, and all the cooking was done at the open fire on the hearth, or out of doors. In the scarcity of other game, opossums were occasionally used for food. The flesh is juicy and has a taste resembling pork, and it is still a great favorite among our colored people. Quails were not then numerous, as they seem to follow civilization rather than precede it. The streams abounded in fish of a good quality, and they were caught by the trot-line, the single hook, or the gig. This was the work of the boys.

The skins of the wild beasts that were

shot were brought to the cabins by the hunters, and there prepared for use. Deer skins were tanned, and from this material were manufactured moccasins, and clothing for the men. The hair was removed by covering them for a while with ashes and water; they were then rubbed with soft soap, lye, and the brains of the deer. All of these substances are alkaline, and were of use in removing whatever fat or tissue might have adhered to the skin. Then, after lying for two or three days in a steeping-vat or trough, the skins were stretched over a smooth, round log, from which the bark had been removed, and scraped with a graining-knife. Dressing with the brains of the animal rendered the skin soft and pliable, and many of the settlers became skillful curriers. Bear skins were dried and used for robes, and often spread on the cabin floors and lofts for beds. Very few buffaloes were met with in Ohio, though when Daniel Boone and his companions entered Kentucky they found them there

in large numbers. Wolves were quite common in some localities, and occasionally the panther's scream terrified the inhabitants of the wilderness; but domestic animals were seldom disturbed by them.

Swine were after a while introduced among the pioneers and were fattened chiefly on wild mast. The whole Ohio Valley was covered with forests, and the oak, hickory, bitter-nut, and beech furnished all that the swine needed in the fall. In spring and summer there was sufficient grazing, with other fodder, so that there was no necessity for feeding. In winter the shoats were slaughtered, and the meat not required for immediate consumption was cured for use in the hot weather, when venison was not in condition, or not easily obtained. The heads and feet of the hogs were used to make "souse" or "head-cheese;" and the jelly obtained from the water in which they were boiled was sometimes used in cooking.

At the table hot drinks were made with

sassafras root, spice-wood, sage, or sycamore bark. In rare instances genuine tea and coffee were to be had; but to be sure of one or the other, it was necessary for travelers to carry it with them. Thus Bishop Asbury, being fond of tea, always carried a little caddy of it in his saddle-bags, that he might have a drawing of it after a hard day's ride. Parched grains of corn or rye were pounded up as a substitute for coffee; and the late venerable John F. Wright on one of his early circuits was served with a decoction of roasted "nubbins." He preferred the sweet milk, of which his hostess had abundance, though the other had been prepared especially for him.

Of corn-meal, bread was prepared in various ways. The simplest method, perhaps, was to mix the meal with salt and water into a stiff dough, and to bake it on the hot stones of the hearth swept clean—in which case it was called "johnny-cake." If thinly spread on a board or in an iron pan and set upright

before the fire to bake, it was "hoe-cake;" and if mixed with eggs and baked in a Dutch oven, or covered skillet, it was "pone." "Corn dodgers" were thick cakes, like wheaten rolls, in which hog's-fat or lard had been first mixed with the meal. Hominy was prepared by soaking the corn in a strong lye of wood-ashes to loosen the outside bran, and then washing it thoroughly in clear water. The meal was often made into mush and was then eaten with milk from wooden bowls or noggins. If fried with the jelly of meatliquor, it was called by the Pennsylvania Dutch "suppawn," and was regarded as a toothsome and nourishing diet.

The Ohio Valley being generally heavily timbered, the hardest work of the pioneer settlers was clearing the ground. The trees were cut down, the brush trimmed off, the trunks cut into lengths, and the logs rolled together and burned. "Log rolling" was an occasion of busy concern, and in this labor the neighbors joined together and assisted

one another. Girdling the trees was sometimes practiced, especially where the ground was not required to be cleared immediately, and in the course of two or three years they would be dry enough to fire without chopping. Grass often sprang up in these deadenings, and afforded pasturage for the stock.

For planting, the ground was broken up with a wooden plow, the mold-board of which was edged with an iron plate. This was drawn by a team of horses, though occasionally oxen were used for the purpose, especially in stiff sod land. Harrowing was effected by drawing brush across the field, or by drags armed with wooden teeth. Grain was sown broadcast, and when ready for harvest was cut with the sickle or scythe, and threshed in small quantities with a flail. Hand-made fanning-mills separated the chaff from the grain. Corn was shelled out with the hand, and "husking parties" for stripping the husks from the ears were scenes of hilarity and good cheer. The bottle on such occa-

sions was freely passed among the workers, but very few drank to excess. The festivities, especially where persons of both sexes were engaged, were often prolonged to a late hour, and, after supper, concluded with a dance.

Farmers' wives cultivated few flowers in their door-yards, though hollyhocks, sunflowers, the tall mallow, morning-glories, and marygolds were frequently found. Ornamental shrubs, like lilacs, rose-bushes, and snowballs, were sometimes planted near the dwellings, but these were introduced later, and when better roads made transportation from the older settlements easier. Vegetables of the common varieties were raised, but tomatoes, rhubarb, egg-plant, sweet-corn, cauliflower, and head-lettuce, now so common, were then unknown. Cabbage, beans, peas, kale, and mustard, and a few sweet herbs, were the staple of the house garden, while turnips, potatoes, beets, and other roots were planted in the new clearings. Pumpkins or

squashes were grown in the corn-fields, and a few melons and cucumbers raised in the fence corners.

The prevailing diseases in the new country were of a bilious character. Tertian ague was universal. Consumption was common, and eruptive fevers were at times epidemic. In the treatment of these disorders the most heroic method was pursued. Letting blood and dosing heavily with calomel was followed with a regimen of ground barks for the severer cases, as quinine was not then in use. For lighter diseases, rhubarb, jalap, or salts and senna were favorite remedies. Palliatives were exhibited when necessary; but usually the fevers had a regular course, and in some localities they returned as punctually every year as the hay-fever does nowalmost to a day. The earlier practitioners of physic kept constantly on hand a supply of the drugs most in use, which they took with them in their saddle-bags, as they always rode horseback, for administering to their

patients. The circuits of the physicians were large, and in one round of visits they would often ride forty or fifty miles. There was, and is, a belief that the blood needs purifying every spring; and for this purpose sulphur and treacle, or a decoction of sassafras bark was commonly used. If these weakened the system, an infusion of camomile flowers or wild cherry bark was taken as a tonic. Distilled liquors, either pure or mixed, were continually in use for the same purpose, even among those who were otherwise strictly temperate or abstemious. In the harvest fields, at log-rollings, burning brush, clearing forests and erecting cabins, and especially when the men were exposed to cold and wet and inclement weather, liquor was freely used, both as a prophylactic against disease and as a stimulant in work. We are accustomed to think that the hardy life of the pioneers was conducive to health and to longevity; but those who survived to an advanced age were really the exceptions. Many, per-

haps most, of the pioneer fathers died in middle life.

Education was not neglected, and both the general government and the territorial and State governments made provisions for schools. At first these were of a private character, where the teacher collected small fees for each scholar. When the common school system was introduced, the schools were open only during the winter months, when farm work was less pressing. The branches taught were the elementary ones, and rarely extended beyond reading, writing, and arithmetic. In a few instances, where the teacher was competent and the boys were ambitious, Latin was taught; and many a backwoods boy became a thorough scholar through the training he received in the rude log schoolhouses of the early days. It was in such schools that John P. Durbin of Kentucky, James B. Finley of Ohio, and Henry Ruffner of Virginia, obtained the rudiments of knowledge that made them masters over

men. And the schools have grown into institutions of refinement and culture that rival the universities of the Old World. The opportunities of acquiring knowledge have increased as the conditions of society demanded; "for whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance."

Newspapers and books had a limited circulation. The first newspaper established west of the Allegheny Mountains was the Commercial Gazette of Pittsburgh, in 1786. At that time there were no mail facilities extended to Pittsburgh by the United States government, and it was not until the fall of the same year that a postoffice was there established. A post was put on the route from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, and another from Virginia to Bedford, the two to meet at Bedford. Subscribers to the paper, not on the line of the post, had to depend on the kindly offices of friends for the weekly budget of news, and there was no regularity in the delivery. As late as 1795 the con-

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tract for carrying the mail required it to leave Philadelphia every Saturday at 11.30 A. M., to be delivered in Pittsburgh the following Friday at noon. Returning, it left Pittsburgh every Friday at 5 P. M., to be delivered in Philadelphia the next Friday at noon. Before the end of the century weekly papers were established at Cincinnati, Lexington, and elsewhere. They were small in size and were not overflowing with news as the great dailies of the present day are. The liberal style of writing, in personalities and criminations, was in vogue then as now.

Statistics kept at signal stations and by individuals from the earlier years of the century show that the average rain-fall and temperature remain nearly the same; yet the alternations of extreme heat and cold are more frequent and severe now than formerly. The denuding of the hills and plains of their timber, and the opening of a larger area to tillage, seem to make the droughts

of summer and the floods of winter more protracted and destructive; yet in pioneer times the river bottoms were often submerged and the summer rivulets were dried up. Still the winters were never severe, and the temperature rarely sank as low as zero. A meterological record kept at Marietta, Ohio, and at Ludlow's Station near Cincinnati, between the years 1804 and 1809 shows the maximum temperature for those years to be 89° Fahr., and the minimum -2°. Such late springs as we experience now at times were then unknown, and corn was planted and sprouting by the first of April, and scarcely ever later than the first of May. Snow seldom lay longer than three days at a time, and the valleys were all winter long covered with an excellent quality of grass, so that it was unnecessary to provide much fodder for cattle.

At first the wild grasses were used for hay, but meadows were afterward seeded down to timothy or herd's-grass and red

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clover. Blue-grass sprang up spontaneously. In moist fields red-top was abundant; but these grasses were better adapted for grazing than for curing as hay. Farming as a business was a routine of hard labor, as everything had to be done by hand; but the temptation to slip-shod agriculture was no greater then than now. Farm-pests were less numerous, and the crops of fruit were more certain. The peach and plum produced abundantly, being neither killed with frost nor destroyed by the weevil. The apple-moth left bushels of fruit in every orchard untouched. The beetle that destroys our vines was easily subdued, and the Colorado potatobug is a newcomer in the Middle and Eastern States. But, upon the whole, we have gained more and better products of the soil than we have lost. If our fruit crops are not so certain, we have them of a greater variety and a greater excellence. Our railroads and steam vessels bring to our marts the products of all climes, and we get the

abundance of other regions to supply our lack. We send our orders by telegraph, and steeds of steam and lightning do our bidding. With all these modern achievements and appliances, let us not forget the beginnings of our history, and the work achieved by the pioneers to render these things possible. They builded and we occupy.

INTRODUCTION OF METHODISM INTO OHIO

When the great Carthaginian general had crossed the Alps and sat down with his forces before the gates of Rome, the very ground upon which his camp was located was offered in the city for sale; and so confident were the Romans of final victory and success that the bids made on the property were none the less because of the occupation of the enemy. With a like undaunted faith in the future, and with like confidence of ultimate success, the Colonial Congress of the United States in 1787 organized the great Northwestern Territory, and invited settlers to come and occupy it. Up to this date the only white residents on the Northern side of the Ohio River

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were a few transient traders who had established trading-posts, perhaps half a dozen Moravian missionaries, and a score or two of struggling squatters. But now, in the face of hostile tribes of Indians, the pioneers began to pour in. Heretofore nearly all the armed expeditions against the savages had resulted disastrously, or had failed to put a stop to their outrages; but the immigrants to the Western soil paused not. If one perished, ten advanced to take his place. In the years 1788-89, settlements were effected at Marietta, at the mouth of the Little Miami, and where Cincinnati now stands. These colonies grew rapidly; but it was not until after the subjugation of the Indians by Anthony Wayne, in 1794, that settlements were made in the interior. In that year Hamilton was laid out by Israel Ludlow; Franklin and Dayton were laid out in 1795, and in 1796 Chillicothe was founded. Before the year 1800, there was a chain of settlements in Southern Ohio up the Miami Valleys as

far north as Dayton and Xenia, and up the Scioto to Franklinton.

Hard after the pioneer settlers trod the pioneer Methodist preachers. Almost before clearings were made or cabins were erected, and long before the whoop of the red man and the scream of the panther and wild-cat had ceased, the faithful preacher was tracking his way from settlement to settlement, hunting after the scattered sheep of his Master's fold. A few families belonging to the Methodist societies had settled here and there throughout the West, and in some instances they were organized into classes by zealous local preachers; but no effort at keeping up the worship and usages of the Church regularly was made until they were visited by the itinerant ministers. Our people were mostly poor, and though they raised enough on their farms to eat and to wear, they were seldom blessed with means to afford anything better than the most meager support to their preachers; yet they kindly received and

entertained them in their houses, and often supplied them with food and fuel when they could not dispense to them of their hardearned money.

The first preacher in the great West was Jeremiah Lambert, who traveled the Holston Circuit in 1783. Four years later the work was extended, comprehending the Nollichucky Circuit and the entire State of Kentucky and the Cumberland region. At the same time two new circuits were formed near the headwaters of the Ohio: the Clarksburg and the Ohio, the latter lying in Virginia between Wheeling and Pittsburgh. Of these, the one was manned by Robert Cann and Richard Pearson, the other by Charles Connaway and George Callanhan. A few families had crossed the Ohio River into what was then generally called "the Indian Country," but now to be known as "the Northwestern Territory," and for protection had built a blockhouse on the river at "Carpenter's Station." For some time the frontiers had been without

alarm; but in September, 1787, the Indians made an inroad upon the settlement, and killed part of the family of Mr. McCov. Some of the settlers made their escape and fled to the block-house, where all the families were soon collected for safety. In four or five days one of the preachers on the Ohio Circuit preached at the cabin of Rezin Pumphrey, in Beech Bottom, Virginia, about a mile and a half from the station. Some eight or ten persons had crossed over the river from that place to attend the service, and at its conclusion earnestly besought the young preacher to come to the station and preach for them that afternoon. A council was immediately held on the subject, and it was deemed by the majority unsafe for him to go. After a few moments of deliberation, however, he determined for himself, and turning to the applicants he said: "Return, and make what arrangements you can; and if Providence permit, I will visit you at 4 o'clock." When the preacher (George Cal-

lanhan) reached the station—a place about a mile above the present village of Warrenton, Jefferson County, Ohio—he found a congregation already assembled, including some of his hearers in the forenoon. Fifteen or twenty hardy backwoodsmen armed with rifles, tomahawks, and scalping-knives stood on the outside of the assembly as protectors. After service was ended, a pressing invitation was given the preacher to visit Carpenter's Fort again, and he cheerfully acceded to the request. During his stay on the circuit, which was about four months longer, a number from the Ohio side of the river applied for admission into the society, and they were enrolled in a class. This was perhaps the first Methodist preaching in Ohio —certainly the first of which we have any definite account, though it is claimed that Joseph Hill had preached on Ohio soil a year or two previously.

In the southwestern part of the State the earliest Methodist sermon was preached by

Francis Clark, a local preacher from Danville, Kentucky, and the pioneer of Methodism in that place. He visited Fort Washington in 1793; and, like St. Paul at Athens, "his spirit was stirred within him" when he beheld the godlessness of the troops and the wickedness of the citizens. Through the intervention of a friend he obtained the privilege of preaching in the fort, where he delivered his message from God faithfully and fearlessly. Two years later James Smith, likewise a local preacher, from Richmond, Virginia, crossed the Ohio River at Cincinnati (November 15, 1795), and the next day preached at the house of Mr. Talbert, about seven miles from the city on the road to Hamilton. Mr. Smith was a kinsman of the venerable Philip Gatch, and came to Ohio on a prospecting tour. Mr. Talbert met him, and with genuine hospitality insisted on his staying over night at his cabin, where Mrs. Talbert baked him provisions for his journey. In the evening his host gathered a few of his

neighbors, and Mr. Smith spoke to them from Luke ii, 10—the angelic announcement to the shepherds of Bethlehem. To these hearers his words were indeed "good tidings of great joy."

So far these Methodist movements in Ohio were sporadic, and no efforts seem to have been made by the traveling ministers to establish societies or stated preaching in that territory until 1798, when John Kobler, who had been appointed Presiding Elder on the Kentucky District, was directed by Bishop Asbury to go over the river and form a regular circuit. Valentine Cook was at the same time sent from Baltimore to take Mr. Kobler's place on the district. The two men met on the Holston Circuit, July 28th, and Mr. Kobler having given his successor all the information he needed to prosecute the work, set out for his new field of labor. On August 1st he crossed the Ohio at Columbia, a small village near the mouth of the Little Miami (now included within the corporate limits of

Cincinnati), and the same evening he reached the cabin of Francis McCormick, a local preacher from Virginia, near Milford. Here he received a hearty welcome, and the next day, to as large a congregation as could be collected, he preached and read the general rules of the society. He also met the class of members which had been gathered by Mr. McCormick, and appointed Philip Hill the leader. As this was the first regularly organized class in Ohio, it may be well to record the names of those composing it. They are: Philip Hill, Ambrose Ransom, Francis McCormick, Joseph Gest, John Ramsey, Philip Gatch, Ezekiel Dimmitt, William Salter, Philip Smyser, and their wives, with Jeremiah Hall, Temperance Raper, and Tom, a colored man, whose last name history does not give—in all twenty-one. Most of these members went from three to eight miles every week to attend class-meeting, and their number speedily increased. Philip Hill was a model leader. It was his custom to visit his

members three of four times a year at their own homes, and he always introduced his visits by singing and prayer; after which he closely questioned all the household present on the subject of experimental and practical religion. With such watch-care there was no room for backsliding; and the influence of that society extended far and wide. Clermont County became the hive of Methodism in Southern Ohio.

After spending five days in this place, Mr. Kobler took Francis McCormick for a guide, and the two proceeded up the Little Miami to its sources, visiting the newly formed settlements in the valleys of the Mad River and the Great Miami, touching at Dayton, Franklin, and Hamilton, and returning to the point of beginning by way of Fort Washington. There were then at this place only a few log cabins, one store, and a printing office outside the fort; but Mr. Kobler could find no open door to deliver his message of salvation in what is now the center of a vast

population. The territory which he passed over he formed into a two-weeks' circuit, with eight or ten appointments.

Mr. Kobler remained here less than a year, when at the Conference which met May 1, 1799, Lewis Hunt was appointed his successor. In this same year and month that Mr. Kobler left, Robert Manley crossed the Ohio River opposite Marietta, and stopped at the house of William McCabe on the stockade. On the following day (April 7th) he preached in McCabe's cabin, and closed with a social prayer-meeting. He then organized a class of six persons, to wit: William Mc-Cabe, John and Samuel Protsman, and their wives. On the 10th of the month he visited Wolf Creek and Waterford, and there also formed classes. Thus we have two or three beginnings of Methodism in Ohio, and at points widely separated. Let us now see how the work was extended.

Mr. Hunt's health soon failed, and Henry Smith was sent by the Presiding Elder, Fran-

cis Poythress, to take his place, or at least to relieve him in his work. Mr. Smith reached Milford September 14th, and the next day set out to seek Mr. Hunt. He found him on Mad River, near Dayton, at the cabin of William Hamer, who had been appointed leader of the first class formed in that section. Mr. Hunt had so far recovered his health as to be able to prosecute his work, and accordingly the two preachers arranged with each other for Mr. Smith to proceed to the Scioto country, while Mr. Hunt remained in the Miami region. The former then proceeded on his travels through Southern Ohio. preaching and forming classes, and on October 1st came to the house of Colonel Joseph Moore, a local preacher from Kentucky, who had settled on Scioto Brush Creek. Here he found a society of Methodists already organized by that zealous and intrepid pioneer, who made the first clearing in that part of the territory. Soon after he began his improvements, neighbors flocked in; and when

Mr. Smith visited him the society had become so numerous that no private house was large enough to hold the congregation that came together for worship. In this emergency Colonel Moore gave a piece of bench land not far from the creek for a meetinghouse and burying-ground; and in August, 1800, before Mr. Smith left the circuit, the neighbors assembled, cut and hewed the timber, and erected the first Methodist church in the Northwestern Territory. A son of Colonel Moore died so lately as November, 1884, at the advanced age of ninety-four years. He was a lad ten years old when his father gave this ground for the church, and helped to haul the logs with which it was constructed. In process of time the log church fell into decay and was abandoned. The members scattered and went to other places for worship; but recently the old place has been re-occupied, and a neat frame church has been erected in its stead—a memorial of the work and faith of the fathers.

From this point Mr. Smith proceeded up the Scioto Valley, preaching as he went, and on the 14th of October he rode into Chillicothe. On the next day he preached; but it was not until the following July that he there organized the first society of Methodists. This became an important center in the early history of our Church in Ohio, and gave to the State at least two Methodist governors.

In 1804 John Collins, at that date a local preacher residing on his farm in Clermont County, came to Cincinnati to purchase salt, and happened to enter the store of Thomas Carter. After making his purchases he inquired whether there were any Methodists in the town. Mr. Carter replied that there were, and that he was himself one. So overjoyed was Mr. Collins at this unexpected information that he threw his arms around Mr. Carter's neck and wept, thanking God for the good news. He then proposed to preach, and inquired whether there was any

place where he could do so. Mr. Carter offered him a room in his own house, and at night he preached to a company of about twelve persons, with manifest power, and to the great delight of his hearers. Mr. Carter's residence was on Main Street near the river, and in one of its upper rooms were gathered all the Methodists that Cincinnati then had.

Upon Mr. Collins's departure the next morning, he promised to use his influence with the preachers traveling the Miami Circuit, adjoining Cincinnati, to take that place in as one of the points on their work. At the Western Conference of 1803, held at Mount Gerizim, Kentucky, October 2d, William Burke was made Presiding Elder of the Ohio District, then extending from the Muskingum and the Little Kanawha Rivers to the Great Miami, and John Sale and Joseph Oglesby were appointed preachers on the circuit named. When Mr. Sale, at the

solicitation of Mr. Collins, visited Cincinnati in 1804, he found a small class already formed, consisting of eight persons, but not regularly enrolled. He preached in a public house kept by George Gordon on Main Street, between Front and Second Streets, and after preaching formed the members into the first properly constituted class, appointing James Gibson leader. Eight persons composed it; to wit, Mr. and Mrs. St. Clair, Thomas Carter and wife, with their son and daughter (afterward the mother of Governor Dennison of Ohio), and Mr. and Mrs. Gibson. The town was thenceforward made a preaching place, and was visited regularly every two weeks by one of the circuit preachers. There was no fixed place for preaching, for sometimes the society occupied a log schoolhouse under the hill near the fort; sometimes they met at Mr. Newcome's, on Sycamore Street; sometimes at Thomas Carter's; and they even did not despise to meet in a barn near

the foot of Main Street. Their numbers rapidly increased, and in 1806 or 1807 they built their first church—a stone edifice on the site of the present Wesley Chapel. Such was the introduction of Methodism into Cincinnati.

4

III

PIONEER METHODISM IN OHIO

THE Methodist pioneers of Ohio knew nothing of the conveniences and necessities of our modern life. Their homes were cabins of logs about fifteen or sixteen feet square; but so welcome were the visits of the traveling preachers that they were freely opened for public worship and other religious exercises. Preaching was also had in the log schoolhouses, which were warmed in winter by great fires built in the capacious chimneys. When churches were first erected there were no stoves except in favored localities; and small foot-stoves, containing a brazier of coals, were sometimes carried from home to warm those who attended meeting. At night the room where the people assembled was lighted with tallow dips stuck on tin

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sconces, and hung about the walls. The person who led the service usually stood by a small table upon which was placed a single candle on a brass or tin candlestick. The candles were kept well snuffed by some officious attendant, who usually picked off the burnt wick between his thumb and fingers.

It was no uncommon thing for men and women to walk every week five or six miles to attend a class-meeting, and at night the same distance to a prayer-meeting, lighting their way through the woods with blazing fagots of hickory bark instead of lanterns. If the latter were used, they consisted of tin cylinders, pricked full of small holes, with a door on one side, through which a bit of candle two or three inches long might be inserted. As there were no matches, the candles were lighted by holding their wicks close to a live coal, and blowing vigorously with the breath. In summer the men and boys often attended the meetings in their bare feet; and the women and girls, if they could

afford shoes and stockings, carried them in their hands until they came within sight of the place of meeting, when they washed off the dust or mud in the nearest brook or spring, and finished their toilets, that they might appear more decent in company; but as soon as the services were over, and they set out on their return, their feet were again stripped bare, and in this condition they traveled ofttimes many miles. And the distance was seldom too great or the roads too bad to prevent these devoted disciples from being in their places when the gospel was preached.

Services were held on week-days as well as on Sunday. In a circuit of four weeks the preacher might have a sermon to preach every day at one or another point, until, at the close of the time, the circuit was again commenced, and the exercises were again proceeded with in the same order. When the preaching was by daylight, men and women both dropped their work to attend, and the

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advent of the circuit-rider in a neighborhood was the signal for a general turn-out of all Methodist families. Many others also attended, for all were welcome; and the peculiar methods and doctrines of the preachers so commended themselves to the hearers that the Church continually increased in numbers. Methodist laymen became thoroughly indoctrinated, and as they were constantly assailed on the tenets of their belief by religionists of other sects, they became able mightily to confound their opposers. Much of the early Methodist preaching was of a controversial character, but there were few sermons in which the provisions and promises of the gospel were not set forth. Both the preachers and the members looked for immediate results, nor were they disappointed. Many souls were converted in the use of the ordinary means of grace, at prayer-meetings, class-meetings, and in private prayer. The kingdom of God came not with observation; the fields were white unto the harvest.

But the quarterly meetings, when the sacraments were administered and love-feasts held, were the great occasions of religious interest among the pioneer Methodists. Persons of both sexes, when the season was favorable and the weather warm enough, would come from twenty to thirty miles' distance -many on foot-and find some hospitable neighbor to entertain them during the continuance of the meetings. The kind Christian friends in whose vicinity a quarterly meeting was to be held were never lacking in such hospitality. Days beforehand they would begin to make ready for it. A large stock of provisions was laid in; the larders were well supplied with bread, cakes, and pies, while butter, eggs, fresh meats, and poultry were prepared against the time for the meeting to begin; and thus a wealthy member could entertain as many as fifteen or twenty of the welcome guests. The venerable Philip Gatch, of Clermont County, Ohio, makes mention of these popular meet-

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ings, many of which were held in the forks of the Little Miami near where he resided. "It was a matter of astonishment," he says, "to see the numbers that attended. Women would walk twenty and even thirty miles to attend them. The whole care devolved on three families; each would have frequently to provide for from fifty to a hundred people." At night the house was given up to the women, who slept on pallets or beds strewn on the floor; the owner himself with his male friends sleeping in the nicely swept barn, being distributed around in the haymow, or on extemporary mattresses of straw on the threshing-floor. Sometimes canvas cots or stretchers were used. This was especially the case in the summer and fall when the weather was mild and favorable.

If the house where the services were held was not large enough to contain the congregation, the barn was sometimes fitted up for public worship; or, if the season admitted, the preacher would stand in the doorway

and talk to the audience assembled within and the people standing without.

Fridays were always strictly observed as fast-days. Preaching began on Saturday morning at 10 or 11 o'clock, and in the afternoon a short service was held, after which the Quarterly Conference was convened. At night there was again preaching, generally by the junior preacher of the circuit; or prayer-meetings were held at several convenient points in the neighborhood. On Sunday morning the love-feast was held, conducted by one of the preachers; and about 11 o'clock the principal sermon of the quarterly meeting was preached by the Presiding Elder, followed by a sermon, it might be, by one of the other preachers, and then perhaps by an exhortation. The sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper were usually administered at the close of the morning services, though sometimes deferred till the afternoon. At night there was again preaching-generally followed by prayer-meeting,

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exhortation to repentance, collects for penitent seekers, and stirring hymns—not always rendered according to the laws of musical art, but sung with a fervor that almost lifted the soul to the gates of paradise. Frequently popular hymns not found in the regular hymn-book were used.

Often on such occasions, and especially at the camp-meetings, the converts would be numbered by the score. The meeting, protracted for several days, frequently resulted in numerous accessions to the Church; and the new members were watched over with a godly jealousy by the class-leaders and the elder brethren, so that there was little danger of their turning back on the way. In many there was a ripe Christian experience, and they were a great help not only to the fresh recruits, but to the preacher. Rarely would a quarterly meeting occasion pass by without the mourners' bench—a means of grace in those days almost peculiar to the Methodists; and for weeks these occasions were

looked to with interest and prayer by the faithful for the salvation of their families and their neighbors.

Mammon has always been the bane of the Church. No grand result has ever been achieved where the idol has been adored; but we must not charge covetousness against the fathers and acquit the sons. In pioneer days very little money was in circulation, and but small sums could be collected for the support of the ministry. If the will was present, the ability was lacking. For this reason the prejudice of the people against married preachers was exceedingly great. They looked upon the wife of an itinerant as an actual incumbrance to him and a burden to them. Nor is it much to be wondered at, that, when the total allowance for a preacher was scarcely a hundred dollars, and a deficiency amounting to more than one half was no unusual thing, the additional expense of a preacher's wife was a matter of complaint. If, in the face of all such dis-

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couragement, a preacher actually did marry, the people threw many obstacles in his way for a successful ministration. They said, "You ought to locate; we can not support you;" and as a man's first social duty is to provide for his own, many excellent and useful preachers were compelled to relinquish the ministry for secular employments. Hence so many names, as appears from the earlier Minutes, were annually reported at Conference in answer to the question, "Who are under a location through family concerns?"

But the scarcity of money and the consequent penuriousness of the pioneer Methodists did not detract from their piety. They were strict observers of the Sabbath and refrained with diligence from many customs which have since come into vogue. Shaving, brushing clothes, polishing boots and shoes, bathing, and laying out the garments to be worn the next day, were all attended to on Saturday evening. Very little cooking was done; in many families none further than

the making of coffee for breakfast, and of tea, where milk was not used instead, for supper.

No meal was eaten without the asking of a blessing or the returning of thanks. If the head of the family was absent, his wife took his place. The members of the household always stood on their feet surrounding the table until this was done. Instead of a grace offered at the commencement of a meal, a stanza was occasionally sung, and thanks given at the conclusion.

Family devotions were conducted night and morning. The entire household, including servants and hired hands, were expected to be present and join in the services, which consisted of reading the Scriptures, singing a hymn, and offering a prayer. Private devotion was rarely neglected. On entering the place of preaching, a silent prayer was uttered, the head bowed down and the face covered. The custom of kneeling was universally observed. Sitting during prayer-

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time, and especially staring about with the eves open, were regarded as unseemly and irreverent. In whatever other respects our modern worship has improved, in this respect it has sadly degenerated. The Psalmist's rule was strictly followed: "Evening and morning and at noon will I pray;" and the early Methodist memoirs are full of the accounts of conversions at private prayer in the woods, in the fields, at the barn, or in the bed-chamber. The case of Dr. Thomas Hinde, grandfather of the late Bishop Kavanaugh, was by no means peculiar. Says the bishop: "On the place which he cultivated you might often see little houses built of sticks of wood, and covered most usually with bark, with a door for entrance. His grandchildren, myself among the number, who were accustomed to joyous gambols over his grounds, were rather perplexed as to the use of these singular structures. At length the old doctor was overheard at his private prayers in one of these houses. After that

we all called them 'Grandpa's prayer-houses.' He aimed to conceal his person, but did not pray very silently—he could often be heard a considerable distance.''

The deprivations suffered by the pioneer settlers were shared to the full by the pioneer preachers. Their salary (over and above house rent and table and incidental expenses) was fixed at \$64 a year, afterward increased to \$80, and finally to \$100, at which rate it remained until the General Conference of 1856, when all reference to a fixed allowance was stricken from our Discipline. Surely, not from the love of gain or emolument have our preachers entered the ministry. At no time within the history of our Church could the worldly advantage have been any temptation; and nothing but the impulsive power of the Holy Ghost could ever have induced the preachers of the gospel to undergo the toils and privations of an itinerant life. A paper in the handwriting of Bishop McKendree, presented to the

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Western Conference, shows the following account of his receipts and expenditures in the year 1808: from seven Conferences the receipts were \$175; salary, \$80; traveling and other expenses, \$61.63; leaving \$33.27, which the good bishop is particular in noting to be yet due to the Conference. Think of a yearly salary of \$80 a year for a bishop, and less than \$62 for his table expenses, traveling, and cost of keeping a horse!

Almost at the beginning of our Church work, the Conference raised a fund for the support of its superannuated members, and to make up deficiencies in the salary of those in the regular pastorate; but even this small pittance was charily bestowed, and only upon the extremely necessitous cases. In the Minutes of the old Western Conference for 1803 is this entry: "Benjamin Lakin's Account [of deficiency in his salary], \$28.95. But it appears that the circuit maintained Brother Lakin's wife and her beast gratis; it is therefore our opinion that it is ungenerous in

him to bring a demand on Conference; and seeing that there are others more needy, it is our judgment that he ought not to have anything. Jesse Walker's Account, \$165.37. But it appears that \$76 of this is for children. It is our judgment that the demand for children be deducted, and then he is deficient \$89.37." When the royal Psalmist wrote, "Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them," surely his prophetic soul saw not these days!

Our preachers have always been, as President Wm. H. Harrison characterized them, "a body of men who, for zeal and fidelity in the discharge of the duties they undertake, are not exceeded by any others in the whole world. I have been a witness of their conduct in the Western country," he goes on to say, "for nearly forty years. They are men whom no labor tires, no scenes disgust, no danger frightens in the discharge of their duty. To gain recruits for the Master's service, they sedulously seek out the

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victims of vice in the abodes of misery and wretchedness. Their stipulated pay is barely sufficient to perform the service assigned them. If, within the period I have named, a traveler on the Western frontier had met a stranger in some obscure way, or assiduously urging his course through the intricacies of a tangled forest, his appearance staid and sober, and his countenance indicating that he was in search of some object in which his feelings were deeply interested—his apparel plain but entirely neat, and his little baggage adjusted with peculiar compactness —he might be almost certain that stranger was a Methodist preacher hurrying on to perform his daily task of preaching to separate and distinct congregations: and should the same traveler upon approaching some solitary, unfurnished, and scarcely habitable cabin hear the praises of God chanted with peculiar melody, or the doctrines of the Savior urged upon the attention of some six or eight individuals with the same energy and

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zeal that he had seen displayed in addresses to a crowded audience of a populous city, he might be certain, without inquiry, that it was the voice of a Methodist preacher."

Nor did our pioneer fathers in the ministry shun exposure or hardships when they lay in the path of duty. They were forced to ride to their appointments in all kinds of weather; in heat and cold, in drought and wet, in snow and sleet; to swim rivers and creeks swollen with rain or filled with floating ice, no house or fire at hand where to change or dry their wet and freezing garments; laboring often under a burning fever or shaking with the tertian ague; sometimes so feeble that they could scarcely sit upon their beasts or stand on their feet during the time of their preaching—and yet cold, hungry, and wet, they would often ride fifteen or twenty miles to their appointment, and in that condition preach; then without rest or refreshment would proceed several miles further and preach again; and, to crown all,

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would be compelled to sleep in a dirty cabin or a damp bed. Brave men! Abundant in labors, inured to poverty and toil, suffering from the inclemencies of the season, daring hardships that few for love of gain would ever attempt, the story of their lives reads like a romance, and even fiction can not surpass it. Deep and broad they laid the foundations. They wrought well, and we have entered into their labors. All honor be to their memory!

IV

THE MOURNERS' BENCH

The Mourners' Bench is a prudential means of grace, growing out of the necessities of religious work during the great revivals which swept over the United States in the closing years of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. It has always been customary for saints to offer prayers in behalf of their friends, whether converted or otherwise, and Paul furnishes us a good example in his prayers for the Ephesians. Nor has this custom been confined to times of refreshing. The Church has always been alive to the wants of the soul, and all along the ages have recruits been gathered in from the world, through the personal efforts of its individual members. But it is in seasons of revival, when the Divine

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influence pervades entire communities, that the prayers of Christians, whether separate or united, seem to avail the most. It is then that sinners are convicted, penitents obtain pardon, believers are sanctified, and the Church is strengthened. Upon an occasion of this kind the Mourners' Bench or Anxious Seat was introduced. It was a needed contrivance for more convenient access to penitents and to avoid the interruption of the other exercises of the meeting.

In the great revival meetings held in Kentucky in 1801, in which Methodists as well as others were sharers, the converts were numbered by the score. Colonel Robert Patterson, of Lexington, Kentucky, in a letter to the Reverend John King, of Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, thus describes the meeting held in his vicinity:

"In order to give you a more just conception of it, suppose so large a congregation [several thousand persons] assembled in the woods; ministers preaching day and night;

the camp illuminated with candles on trees; persons falling down and carried out of the crowd by those next to them, and taken to some covenient place where prayer is made for them; some psalm or hymn suitable to the occasion sung. If they do not recover soon, praying and singing is kept up, alternately; and sometimes a minister exhorts over them; for generally a large group of people collect and stand around, paying attention to prayer, and joining in singing."

Writing of the Caneridge meeting in the same State, held in that year, a Presbyterian clergyman says:

"I saw, I suppose, one hundred persons at once on the ground crying for mercy, of all ages, from eight to sixty years. Some I had satisfaction in conversing with, others I had none; and this was the case with many brethren, as some of them told me. When a person is struck down, he is carried by others out of the congregation, when some minister converses with him and prays for him; afterwards a few gather around him and sing a hymn suitable to his case. The whole num-

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ber brought to the ground under conviction were about one thousand, not less."

This meeting began on the 6th of August, and continued one week. The number attending it was estimated at twenty thousand persons, and it is supposed that three thousand fell to the ground under the mighty power of God.

The venerable James Quinn, of the Ohio Conference, in his reminiscences of the early days of Methodism, says:

"The first I ever saw or heard of the Mourners' Bench was in 1795 or '96 at a watch-night meeting held at the house of that mother in our Israel, the widow Mary Henthorn, near Uniontown, Pennsylvania. The person who conducted the meeting was that holy, heavenly-minded man, the Rev. Valentine Cook. . . . When he preached there was a sweet and almost heavenly benignity beaming in his countenance, presenting rather an unearthly attraction. It was next to impossible for the most heedless to remain uninterested under the sound of his

voice. Mr. Cook's subject upon this occasion was the qualification, duties, and awful responsibilities of the watchman. His sermon was close and argumentative, giving to the greedy and sleepy dogs, as the prophet styles the avaricious and slothful watchmen or ministers, their portion, observing as he passed along, that those who were the least laborious were often the most clamorous for their worldly gain.

"The sermon was closed with an almost overwhelming exhortation, which appeared as if it must carry all before it. Then came the invitation to the mourners to come to the vacated seats in front of the communion table, to be prayed with and for. I think this was new, perfectly new, for the people appeared panic-struck; and I confess I was greatly moved, for it appeared to me as if the two worlds were coming together. Verily, methought the very hairs of my flesh stood up. He, however, was very particular in giving the Scriptural character of a true penitent, and in the most affectionate and encouraging manner invited such, and none but such, to come. It was an awful, yet glori-

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ous time of the gracious power and presence of God. Several souls found peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, and some obtained the blessing of perfect love."

In a notice of the Reverend Valentine Cook, who introduced the custom of calling penitent seekers to the altar, Hon. Thomas Scott, of Ohio, says:

"Prior to the introduction of that practice, it was customary for mourners to kneel down in whatever part of the congregation they might happen to be at the time they were seized with conviction; and all the congregation, except such as were detailed to instruct and pray with the mourners, were directed either to remain seated or kneel down and pray. By pursuing this course much confusion was avoided, and each penitent became a nucleus around which others either soon kneeled or fell prostrate, till the cries of distress by them, in connection with the shouts of those who had just struggled into life, and others, pervaded every part of the assembly."

When the Reverend Stith Mead, well known in Virginia as one of the early preachers, whose name is as ointment poured forth. was presiding elder of the Georgia District in 1801-03, a remarkable revival of religion broke out on Greensboro Circuit, North Georgia. Mr. Mead's habit had been to converse privately with every one whom he discovered to be under conviction of sin; but in one of his meetings in Liberty Chapel he found it impracticable to do this on account of the number of penitents. He therefore invited them forward to the front benches, so that he might be able to speak to them all collectively as he had done individually. After close and pointed questioning of each, and helpful instruction in seeking salvation, he offered prayers in their behalf, and exhorted them not to cease seeking until they found. Mr. Mead was a successful revivalist, and many souls were converted under his ministry.

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In the Reminiscences of the Rev. Henry Boehm we find two or three paragraphs relating to the introduction of the Mourners' Bench among the Methodist societies. He says:

"There has been some discussion as to the time when mourners were first invited to the altar for prayers, and with whom the custom originated. As this practice made a new era in the Church, and has been so highly honored of God, the question is one of interest. Dr. Bangs in his History of Methodism (vol. iii, p. 375) speaks of the revival in the city of New York in 1806, and says: 'It was during this powerful revival that the practice of inviting penitent sinners to come to the altar for prayers was first introduced. The honor of doing this, if I am rightly informed, belongs to brother Aaron Hunt, who resorted to it to prevent the confusion arising from praying for them in different parts of the Church at the same time.' This has been for years stereotyped, and it is interwoven into history. The doc-

tor expressed himself cautiously, for he said, 'If I am rightly informed.' The truth is, he was not correctly informed. Aaron Hunt was, no doubt, the one who introduced its practice in New York; but it existed previously in other places. The Rev. Henry Smith, of Baltimore Conference, wrote a letter to Dr. Bangs when he was editor of the Advocate at New York, asking that this error in his history might be corrected. In it he stated he had invited mourners to the altar as early as 1803, and adds, 'It was not a solitary case or a new thing, but often practiced with success.'

"I know the practice commenced much earlier than 1806. As early as 1799, when in company with that eminent revivalist, Rev. W. P. Chandler, on Cecil Circuit, at Back Creek, after preaching, the doctor invited mourners to the altar. Nearly a score came forward, and twelve men experienced the forgiveness of sins that day, and among them Lawrence Lawrenson, who became one of the most popular and useful preachers in the Philadelphia Conference. That was the first

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time I ever saw or heard of mourners being invited to the altar.

"During the revivals on the peninsula in 1801 and the two following years, as well as at the camp-meeting in 1805, it was the invariable practice to invite mourners to come forward. The Rev. Richard Sneath, one of the best of ministers, with whom I fought side by side the battles of the Lord, has thrown light upon this subject. In a letter to Dr. Coke, dated Milford, October 5, 1802, he says: 'On January 25, 1801, at St. George's, Philadelphia, after Mr. Cooper had been preaching, I invited all the mourners to come to the communion table that we might pray particularly for them. This I found to be useful, as it removed that shame which often hinders souls from coming to Christ, and excited them to the exercise of faith. About thirty professed to be converted, and twenty-six joined the society.' Mr. Sneath says also: 'In 1800 and 1801, I added on Milford Circuit upwards of three thousand members.' So mightily grew the word of God and prevailed. The scenes were pentecostal. It is difficult to realize them now."

The Rev. Dan Young in his Autobiography says:

"The first instance of getting up a Mourners' Bench that I ever saw, was in the early state of Methodism, in the town of Landaff, in New Hampshire. It was done by that flaming herald of the gospel, brother [Elijah R.] Sabin [in 1803]. A protracted meeting was held in a grove, where there were great manifestations of the presence and grace of God. There were persons in various parts of the assembly under conviction, as we called it in those days. It was impossible to attend advantageously to them all in this scattered condition, and brother Sabin adopted the very excellent expedient of having a bench prepared, and then invited all who were desirous of fleeing the wrath to come and laying hold on eternal life, to come forward and be seated on the bench, which was then without a name. They came forward with a rush. In tones of love and words of grace he directed them to the Lamb of God. Then pointing them to the fountain open for Judah and Jerusalem, and the blood of Christ which cleanses from all sin, he reminded the breth-

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ren of their obligation and duty to do all in their power by instructing the mourners, and by fervent prayer to God for their conversion. Then were sung those lovely lines:

'Come, ye sinners, poor and needy, Weak and wounded, sick and sore.'

Then upon the cold earth, and under the canopy of heaven, the group of weeping and sobbing mourners, and all the humble pious, solemnly bowed in the presence of God and wondering angels, and offered up several most importunate prayers for the conversion of mourning souls. This labor of love had not continued long till shouts of victory and joyful acclamations of 'Glory, glory, glory to God in the Highest!' began to sound along the 'mourners' bench,' for so we soon learned to call it. Many were the trophies of divine grace, and victory seemed perching on every shady tree, and such a joyful meeting had never been in that region before. Hills and fertile valleys were heard re-echoing the songs of redemption and grace throughout that neighborhood. . . . As far as I know this was the origin of the mourners'

bench, which has since become so common in all revivals."

The Rev. Henry Smith, before referred to, in a letter dated November 11, 1806, speaks of a camp-meeting which he attended, commencing October 1st, where five hundred and seventy-nine persons professed converting grace and one hundred and eighteen sanctification. This camp-meeting was held on Baltimore Circuit, and the Mourners' Bench was in use there, as if it were a well-known means of grace. In front of the stand for preaching there was an inclosure, with posts and rails, through which there were three gaps or gateways. The ground was strewn with straw, and the space filled with benches. Guards stood at the gates to keep out all persons until penitents were invited forward; and then, when an invitation was given, what might be called a rallying committee went out through the congregation to conduct all who desired the prayers of God's people to seats in the inclosure. Here prayers were

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offered, hymns sung, and souls were converted.

The custom once introduced came into vogue everywhere among the Methodist societies. The preachers would naturally speak of it to each other at their Conferences. It was not long until it spread from one charge to another. Before the first decade of the nineteenth century was completed it was in New England, in Pennsylvania and Virginia, in Ohio, and in the Gulf States. The acclaim of souls converted at the Mourners' Bench was heard in the East and the West, in the North and the South. Other Churches adopted it. Among the Presbyterians, and Calvinists generally, it has been called "the Anxious Seat." What is now known to them as an "Inquiry Meeting" largely takes its place. But wherever found, whatever its name, God has owned and blessed it. Of the myriads who are now active members of the Church, the vast majority have come into its communion from the Mourners' Bench!

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V

MIAMI CIRCUIT IN EARLY DAYS

Though at the very beginning of the nineteenth century there had been Methodist preaching in Cincinnati, there was no definite round of work which included it as a preaching place until after 1803, in which year John Sale and Joseph Oglesby were appointed to Miami Circuit. Elisha W. Bowman had traveled the preceding Conference year over a part of this territory; but neither he nor his successors then considered Cincinnati of sufficient importance to devote any time to it. At other points on the circuit the work was more promising. Such was the condition of Methodism in 1803.

When at the instance of John Collins, Mr. Sale came into Cincinnati in 1804 he found a small class already in existence, and he im-

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mediately organized it with eight members. Cincinnati was now made one of his regular appointments on a large circuit, to be filled once every two weeks.

The Miami Circuit in 1804 extended from Cincinnati northward through the valley of the Little Miami River to Xenia, thence along Mad River to Urbana, returning by way of Dayton and the Great Miami to Lebanon, Reading, and through Mill Creek Valley to the place of beginning. It was then a six weeks' circuit. The more important appointments along this route were Ward's meetinghouse of rough beech logs on Duck Creek near Madisonville, Columbia, now in Cincinnati, Bethel or Dunhamstown, Williamsburg, Philip Gatch's settlement in Clermont County near Milford, Xenia, Robert Boggs's not far from Yellow Springs and Fairfield, and Clark's, two miles from Urbana. Two quarterly meetings were arranged for on this circuit by the presiding elder, William Burke one at Ward's and the other at Boggs's.

These accommodated nearly all the early Methodists on the circuit. Many of them, however, had to travel long distances to attend them.

In 1805 the work was greatly enlarged, and extended from the Great Miami River to Ripley, and embraced all of Hamilton, Clermont, and Brown Counties, and portions of Warren and Butler. Mad River Circuit was at the same time detached from Miami. but the number of preaching places in the latter was increased for the accommodation of the new settlers who were now rapidly filling up the State. Benjamin Lakin traveled the circuit this year, and had the following preaching places: James Sargent's, in Clermont County; Bethel, Thomas Leming's, Crosley's, Forbes's, Nelson's, Williamsburg, Collins's, Dimmitt's, Gatch's, Hays's, Ramsey's, Leonard's, Davis's, Garrettson's, Williams's, Sackett's (afterwards changed to Hutchinson's), McHenry's, Cincinnati, Ward's, Whitaker's, Gamble's, John Sar-

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gent's, Fee's, Clark's, Lebanon. This was probably the order in which he preached at these appointments. In 1807 there were added Todd's Fork, Jones's, McCormick's, and Newtown in Hamilton County—making thirty preaching places for a circuit of four weeks' travel.

In 1803 Frederick Bonner moved from Virginia, and settled with his family in Greene County, about two miles south of Xenia. He was one of the first who joined with the Methodists in that part of Virginia from which he had come. He united with the society in 1776, and his house was a regular preaching place in Sussex Circuit for about twenty-five years. God greatly blessed the work at this appointment, and it has been thought that more souls were converted at Mr. Bonner's house than at any other private home within the whole compass of the work in those early times.

On his arrival in Ohio, Mr. Bonner erected a cabin in an almost unbroken wilderness,

and it was from the first a house of prayer. In 1804 John Sale and Joseph Oglesby, the preachers on Miami Circuit, took this point into the plan of their work, and it became a regular preaching place until 1809, when a log meeting-house was erected near where Union Chapel afterwards stood.

In 1803 Bennet Maxcy, a local preacher, from Virginia, also settled in this neighborhood, and began preaching in a little village on Cæsar's Creek. Here he found an old disciple named Isaiah McDaniel, who joyfully opened his house for public worship. Mr. McDaniel had been a member of the Church for some years, but had been for a considerable time deprived of the privileges of society, for Methodism was then a thing almost unknown in that part of the State. But now there were three families who "feared the Lord;" and as soon as they became known to each other they formed a class, consisting of Frederick Bonner and Elizabeth his wife, and their daughter Nancy

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(afterward Mrs. Sale); Isaiah McDaniel and Edith his wife; and Bennet Maxcy and Elizabeth his wife. These seven persons continued to meet together in the name of the Lord; and they saw the congregation for preaching becoming larger at almost every service, though not many of those who attended were Methodists.

This year one of the quarterly meetings for the circuit was held in the woods on Mad River, near William Hamer's, about three miles above Dayton. It was not intended as a camp-meeting, but the people who came to it remained with their wagons from Friday till Monday, but without tents. They found entertainment in the houses of families residing in the vicinity. The congregation was anxious to hear the gospel.

Towards the end of the year 1804, Thomas Perkins and Elizabeth his wife, and James Butler and Nancy his wife, all Methodists, came into the Bonner neighborhood from Virginia. The little society began to look

up. The class, enlarged by these accessions, met regularly at Mr. Bonner's, and he became the leader. At the same time a society was formed at Andrew Read's, near Fairfield, on Mad River, where in 1805 a protracted meeting was held in the woods. This meeting continued for several days, though there were no tents for the people who attended to sleep in at night. Much good was done at this meeting, the effects of which continued for many years.

In the fall of 1805 there was a considerable increase to the society, both by immigration and as a result of the work of the Lord among the settlers. Those who came by certificate of membership were Ann Malone, an old mother in Israel, her two sons James and John Loyd, and her son-in-law Tinsley Heath and Anna his wife. Mrs. Malone embraced religion in the early days of Methodism in Virginia, and lived to see

¹Tinsley Heath and his wife were the parents of Uriah Heath of the Ohio Conference, and grandparents of Gen. Thomas T. Heath, of Cincinnati.

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her children and many of her grandchildren walking in the paths of piety. About this time the power of divine grace was most signally manifested in the conversion of souls, among whom was Moses Trader, well known throughout the Ohio Conference and the Western country as an itinerant and local preacher.

The principal local preachers then living on the Miami Circuit were Bennet Maxcy, Samuel Hitt, and Joseph Tateman.

In 1806 a camp-meeting was held two miles north of Xenia in a grove at or near Oldtown Prairie. The attendance was large, much good was done, and many were converted. John Sale was the presiding elder, and Adjet McGuire was the preacher in charge. There was one circumstance that occurred at this meeting which was long afterwards talked about. While Benjamin Lakin was in the stand preaching, a dark and ominous cloud arose in the west and threatened as driven by the wind to drench

the congregation with rain. It advanced until it seemed to stand directly over the edge of the prairie on which the camp-ground was situated, when Mr. Lakin paused in his discourse and lifted up his hands and voice in prayer that the storm which was threatening them might disperse, and that the clouds might be turned aside. To the astonishment of all, even of those who believed in the efficacy of prayer, the clouds were driven towards the south, and not a drop of rain fell on the ground.

Shortly before this time James Towler settled in Xenia. He had been an adherent of James O'Kelly; but on coming to Ohio he opened his house for preaching and united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. He became a local preacher, but went off with the "Radicals" in 1829.

There had been some time previous to this a small class at Robert Boggs's, near Yellow Springs. Mr. Boggs was a Methodist from Loudoun County, Virginia, and be-

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ing one of the oldest settlers in that part of Ohio, his house became a home for the preachers and a place for preaching.

In 1806 a camp-meeting was held near Milford, on or close to the grounds of Philip Gatch. It was well attended by the Methodists of Miami Circuit, though some of them had to travel two days to get there. Preaching commenced on Friday. The principal traveling preachers were John Sale, Benjamin Lakin, and Adjet McGuire; and of the local preachers there were Philip Gatch, Francis McCormick, and Jesse Justice.

The first class in Lebanon was formed in the house of Thomas Anderson. He was born in Essex County, New Jersey, in 1768, and came to Lebanon in 1805. Soon afterwards he united with the Church, and his house was made a preaching place for several years—to 1812.

In 1808 the territory covered by the Miami Circuit was divided, but the number of appointments was increased. The principal

circuit was now called the Cincinnati Circuit. This name was given to it until 1815, when a further division was made; the appointments in the city and immediate vicinity being put into a circuit by themselves, and the rest of the circuit resuming the former name of Miami.

In 1810 the Union Circuit was formed from the old Miami and Mad River Circuits, and John Collins was appointed preacher in charge. It covered a great part of Greene County and portions of Montgomery, Clark, Champagne, and Fayette Counties. It required four weeks to travel over it and fill all the appointments. Dayton, Xenia, Springfield, and Urbana were the principal points, but large congregations assembled in the more rural places for preaching.

In 1834 Madisonville Circuit was organized, leaving Cincinnati in a circuit by itself, a kind of half-station, and preaching places were established at what are now known as

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Clifton, Corryville, and Mount Auburn, all within the present city limits. In Clifton the preaching was at the house of Elijah Wood, and in the summer time, when the weather was warm and pleasant, the services were held in the barn. The large threshingfloor was swept clean, and chairs and benches were there placed for the accommodation of the worshipers. If there were not seats enough on the floor the children were permitted to climb into the hay-mow as a sort of gallery, and to sit on the hay—a capital place to go to sleep if the sermon was not interesting to them. A small table was set for the use of the preacher in reading his Scripture lessons and in giving out the hymns for singing.

In Corryville the services were held in the double log-cabin of Joseph Cooper, erected in the midst of a grove of locust trees and a large apple orchard, and standing on the east side of the Carthage road, nearly

on the site of the present public library. Occasionally preaching was had at the house of Samuel Williams, on Mount Auburn (1835-39). Here the congregations were so large that the family could not supply or borrow chairs enough to seat all the audience, and Mr. Williams had three benches with solid backs made to place in the sittingroom, where the services were held. Each bench would hold six persons.

In Clifton and Corryville the services were held on Sundays in the day-time (morning or afternoon), but on Mount Auburn only at night and generally on week-days. In addition to the regular traveling preachers of the circuit, visiting, local, or resident preachers were sometimes called on to officiate. At all these points, when the season was favorable, the attendance was good.

There were other places near Cincinnati belonging to the circuit, such as Avondale, East Walnut Hills, Cumminsville, Lock-

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land, Montgomery, Sharon, and Springdale. Some of the ablest preachers in the Ohio Conference traveled this circuit, and the gospel became widely diffused. Methodist preaching on Mount Auburn, Corryville, and Clifton was discontinued about 1839, for Asbury Chapel in the northern liberties of Cincinnati, as the outlying precincts were called, was made a separate station about that time; and the Methodists in those places attached themselves to it. Local classes were established, and there was no further need of Methodist preaching for their accommodation. Most of the families in the country owned horses and carriages, and it was an easy matter to drive two or three miles to town for church services. Nor was it uncommon in those days to walk that distance to and from the house of God.

Methodism in Cincinnati and on the circuit was then aggressive. Every local preacher had appointments for preaching

at different places on Sundays, and wherever the children could be gathered together, Sunday-schools were organized. These became the nucleus of mission Churches, which, though not so named in the Conference Minutes, became regular stations.

VI

PIONEER METHODIST WOMEN

THE progress and success of the Methodist movement in the West is greatly due to the faithful ministrations of the pioneer women of the Church. Of many a one it might be said, as was said of Mary of Bethany, "She hath done what she could." Few of them were supposed to be gifted with the ability to exhort in the public services during seasons of revival, though many were fervent in prayer for penitent seekers at the mourners' bench. The era of women's rights had not yet come; and indeed the thought of a woman's making public addresses or delivering sermons, except, perhaps, among the Quakers, was preposterous. Ministerial rights and functions were jealously guarded. If an exhorter presumed to announce a text

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and deliver a discourse upon it, he was often regarded as invading the sacred office of the preacher, and his conduct subjected him to reproof and perhaps the withdrawal of his license. Even in the absence of the regular preacher, or lack of a local minister, an exhorter was authorized only to exhort, not to preach. He might speak on any religious topic, such as repentance, faith, personal consecration, purity of heart, or love to God, and it was only an exhortation; but if he formally based his talk upon some text or passage of Scripture, it became preaching. He was exceeding his license, and "running before he was sent." But he might read from the pulpit one of Wesley's "Sermons" or one of Burder's "Village Sermons." This was not preaching, it was only reading a lesson.

With women the case was still worse. They were expected, even required, to "keep silence in the churches." But if upon occasion in love-feast or general class-meeting,

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in addition to narrating her religious experience, some good sister moved by the Spirit of God undertook to exhort her neighbors and acquaintances to seek a deeper work of grace, it was quite likely that a zealous narrow-minded preacher or layman would begin to "sing her down."

But women's good works in other lines were not stayed. Hospitality was a leading virtue of the old pioneers. Every cabin was an inn, where belated travelers found a welcome, where their beasts were stalled and fed, and where themselves were given a night's lodging and their meals. The labor of entertaining strangers fell mainly on the women of the household. They did all the cooking, spread the beds or pallets, waited on their guests, looked after their needs, provided them with every convenience which they had themselves, especially if any of them were women or children, and oftentimes deprived themselves of articles of comfort for their benefit. They taught their

children to wait upon them, likewise; and for all this care and attention very seldom was any compensation expected or received. Never was this the case if the stranger was a minister of the gospel. The pioneer women were always glad to receive the visits of the itinerant preacher or missionary, and to entertain him. His religious conversation and his prayers were a full remuneration for their labor. And the preachers had their favorite stopping places, and always made it a point to reach them when riding around on their circuits. In the towns and villages of the State embraced in their circuit work, one house was usually the place where the preachers put up, and it became known in the town and elsewhere as "The Preachers" Home." If a new preacher was appointed on the circuit, he had only to inquire, on riding into the place, "Where is the preachers' home?" and almost any citizen, whether a member of the Church or not, could direct him.

In every town in the State some special house was thus the regular stopping place of the circuit preachers. Here they were cared for and their needs supplied. Michael Ellis was fond of making one such house his home when he came into the town to preach. Often in inclement weather, after traveling many miles on horseback, when he arrived weary, cold, and exhausted, he knew a warm welcome awaited him. "Now, sister," he would say to the mistress of the house, "make me a cup of good tea, double and twisted;" and he always got what he asked for. And the plain food there set before him was better relished than more dainty food elsewhere would have been.

But sometimes this large hospitality was abused. The gracious women who opened their doors freely to preachers were liable to be imposed upon by the undeserving. Late one Saturday afternoon an itinerant stranger inquired the way to the preachers' home in a certain town, and getting the di-

rections, soon found the place. Here he introduced himself as a preacher—presumably a Methodist—and was accordingly entertained. The owner of the house thought that the regular circuit preacher, who resided near by, might be glad to have help in his Sunday services, and so he went in the evening after supper to inform him that a new preacher was staying with him for the Sabbath. The circuit minister went with the host to interview the stranger and to engage him to preach the next day. After the proper introductions had been made, the following colloquy ensued:

Minister—"To what Conference do you belong, brother?"

Stranger—"I am not a member of any Conference just at present."

Minister—"O, then, you are a local preacher. Where is your home?"

Stranger—"I reside in ——— County, Virginia."

Minister—"To which Quarterly Conference are you attached?"

Stranger-"To none."

Minister—"Well, if you are not a member of an Annual Conference, and do not belong to any Quarterly Conference, how is it that you preach?"

Stranger—"I sometimes preach for the Baptisses."

It was in vain, therefore, to look for help from this "Baptiss" brother (he must have been of the Hard Shell variety), and he was not invited to preach. But he spent the Sabbath in the town, and on Monday morning took his leave, without even offering to pay for his entertainment, though he certainly knew that he had no claim upon it. And yet, a few days after, on returning homeward from his journey, undertaken for private business solely, he had the presumption to call again at the preachers' home. This time he did not ask to stay over night. He only said. "Sister, if you will give me a little bite

of dinner, I will travel further to-day." The sister was glad enough to take him at his word, without insisting on his staying. He had probably sponged his entertainment in like manner along his entire route.

Of the many pioneer women who were thus "given to hospitality" and were abundant in labors religious and domestic, all are worthy of record, especially in the local Church histories; and yet how few are known outside of their own family circles. The world rushes on, and in a single generation society does not know the generous deeds of our foremothers. Yet the good example set by them ought to be a stimulant in the lives of their successors. "Follow me," says Saint Paul, "as I follow Christ;" and our pioneer ancestors are saying to us the same thing. Only a few names can be mentioned, but they are a type of all. Our sketches must be like an artist's "lay-out" for a portrait or a landscape; the readers must fill in the details, each for himself.

Charity Hendershott was born in New Jersey, December 25, 1756. Her parents were of German descent, and her maiden name was Dils. At the age of twenty-one she heard Freeborn Garrettson preach in her father's neighborhood, and conviction of her sinfulness and need of salvation seized upon her. She immediately resolved to lead a new life, and united with the Methodists. She now became an attendant upon the ministrations of such men as Benjamin Abbott, Joseph Everett, William Watters, and Jesse Lee, and was one of the first-fruits of Methodism in her native State.

In 1788 her father's family migrated to Kentucky, and settled in the wilderness. It was not long until the gospel was introduced and the pioneer preachers with their divine messages were tracking their way from settlement to settlement. Here she was married, and the doors of her humble home were at once gladly thrown open for the reception of the itinerant preachers.

There they were gladly welcomed, and an altar was erected for family and public worship.

In 1806 Mrs. Hendershott removed to Ohio, and settled on the Great Miami River at Piqua. Here she was foremost in planting the gospel standard among the early settlers, and used her zeal and assiduity in building up the Church in that place. She always welcomed the visits of the circuit preachers; and her cabin here, as it was in Kentucky, was a house of prayer. To promote the interests of religion and the welfare of the Church she often made extraordinary sacrifices of her own comfort and ease.

She possessed naturally a vivacious disposition, which never led her into frivolity, as it was always chastened by grace. She had had few opportunities for an education in her childhood, but was well taught in the elementary branches of learning. She was deeply read in the Scriptures, from which

she could quote passage after passage with aptness and facility when occasion required. To fluency of expression she added vigor of thought, and by well chosen arguments was able to confute the objections of gainsayers to the plan of salvation. Profanity in her presence rarely escaped without rebuke, sometimes in circumstances very embarrassing; especially when her house was a resort for officers and soldiers during the war with England, in 1812-13. Any flagrant breach of decorum on their part was sure to be met with reproving severity of eye or tongue.

In May, 1829, she suffered a stroke of paralysis, from which she never recovered; and on March 13, 1833, she died at the residence of her son in Springfield. She retained to the last that calm, composed, and settled peace of mind which through life she had enjoyed. During the whole of her protracted and painful affliction not a single murmur at the divine dispensation was ever

known to escape her lips. Her motto was, "The will of the Lord be done." She seemed ever to act with an eye single to the glory of God, and prayer and praise were her vital breath as long as she lived. One who knew her well says of her: "She was a great light, and I might add, almost a polar star for the preachers."

RACHEL McDowell was the daughter of James and Mary McClintick, and was born in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, December 25, 1771. Her father was an officer in the Revolutionary War, and served during its whole period, in which he lost all his property. When she was eighteen years old she was awakened and converted under the ministry of the first Methodist preachers who visited Shippensburg, twenty miles southwest of Carlisle, whither her father's family had removed. A Methodist class was soon formed in that town, in the midst of a large Presbyterian element, and to it she attached herself. This little flock was greatly persecuted and de-

spised by the Calvinists as a set of wild, deluded fanatics. But none of these things moved her. Her piety was deep and fervent, and in the prayer-meetings of the little society she often prayed and exhorted.

In 1795 she was married to William Mc-Dowell, who had labored successfully as an itinerant preacher for seven years, but this year located, perhaps in view of his marriage. The small sums paid for ministerial support on the circuits were not enough to keep him and his wife, and heretofore his horse and necessary articles of clothing had been supplied by his brother. They soon removed to Georgia, where he engaged in mercantile enterprises, and prospered. Here their house was an asylum for the missionaries of the Cross, for the way-worn traveler, and for all who called on the name of the Lord out of a pure heart. They afterwards settled in Newtown, Frederick County, Virginia, where they resided until 1806; but not wishing to bring up their children under

the influences of slavery, they removed to Chillicothe, Ohio, where Mr. McDowell bought property. Here he resumed the mercantile business in partnership with his brother-in-law, James McClintick, who married about 1810 and took up his residence in the store building. His partnership gave Mr. McDowell leisure to manage his farm in the vicinity of the town, and to pursue a private course in medicine, for which he always had a taste. He was induced by some of his friends and neighbors, to whom he sometimes administered remedies for sickness, to complete his medical studies by attending the lectures of Dr. Benjamin Rush, Dr. Philip S. Physick, and others, in Philadelphia. After his graduation as a regular doctor of medicine he returned to engage in the practice of his profession in Chillicothe, and gave up his mercantile business.

Both in Georgia and in Virginia Mrs. McDowell had freely opened her house for the reception of the itinerant preachers, and

was glad to have them stay with her when they were making the rounds of their circuit. On her removal to Ohio she abounded in like good works, and was unstinted in her charities to the poor and destitute. She used her best endeavors to promote the cause of religion and morality, and took an active part in Church work. In prayer-meetings she was often called on to lead in prayer, in which exercise she was peculiarly gifted. Few surpassed her in appropriateness of language and adaptation, in unction and in power. For many years she was the leader of a large class of women, for which position she was well qualified, both by nature and by grace. In the absence of her husband she kept up family worship; and she was a constant reader of the Word of God. In accurate and comprehensive knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity, as taught by the Methodist Episcopal Church, and in explaining and defending them, and also in deep and thorough knowledge of Christian

experience, she had few equals among those of her own sex, nor indeed many superiors in the ministry.

In 1831 Mrs. McDowell's health failed. and she was soon laid upon a dying bed. A few days before her death she desired to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. This, to her great comfort, was administered to her and a few of her friends in her sickroom by the Rev. John Collins. A short time before her departure, which she felt to be near at hand, her husband, taking her hand, said, "My dear, you are going soon to leave us; tell me, is your way clear?" "O yes," she replied, "very clear. I have been striving in my poor way to serve the Lord for forty years, and He will not now, forsake me. I feel so united to Christ that I know 'He will not live in glory and leave me behind.' His merit is my only plea; He is my all in all, and my eternal all!" A few minutes before she breathed her last she said to her husband, "Be holy;" and then added,

"The Lord bless my children!" Wearied with life's struggle, she gently fell asleep in Jesus.

JANE TRIMBLE was born March 15, 1755, in Augusta County, Virginia. She was the eldest daughter of James and Margaret Allen, whose ancestors had come from the Old World in the seventeenth century. They were Protestants, members of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian Church. Some of the descendants of the family took an active part in the Revolutionary War, and her father lost two brothers in battle. She joined the Presbyterian Church at an early age, and though her opportunities for obtaining an education were limited, she learned to read and write with ease, and could do so before she was seven years old. She memorized the four Gospels, and could recite long passages from Milton, Cowper, Young, and Thomson. She was fond of reading, and often had her book open before her eyes when she was engaged in knitting or spinning.

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Near the close of the Revolutionary War she was married to Captain James Trimble, of Augusta County, whose father had been killed by the Indians in 1778. He himself had served in the field during most of the war. In 1784 they migrated with a small company of new settlers to Kentucky. After encountering many hardships and perils, both from the savage Indians and the wild beasts, and enduring all the inclemencies of the late autumn, they settled near Lexington. Kentucky in that part of the State was then a vast canebrake, and the cane stood eight or ten feet high. This had to be cut out with almost as much labor as clearing forest land, before the ground could be cultivated

A rude log cabin was soon built, covered with clapboards, floored with split puncheons, and the chimney constructed of stone, mud, and timber. The house was chinked and daubed before the severe cold weather set in. A shelter was put up for the stock,

and the young cane furnished sufficient provender for the horses. Deer, bears, and buffaloes were abundant, and supplied the table with fresh meats; while corn for bread was procured at the stations until they could raise a crop for themselves.

The only drawback they experienced was the lack of neighbors and Church and school privileges. But Mrs. Trimble attended to the education of her children, and did not neglect their moral and religious training. When the country filled up with newcomers, she invited the children and servants of her neighbors to attend a Sunday-school conducted by herself at her own home. In the absence of her husband she had family worship every night and morning. This was a service in which she delighted.

When the Presbyterian Church was organized at Lexington, about the year 1788, by Adam Rankin, she and her husband united with it, and for several years they there enjoyed the ministrations of God's word. In

1792 three missionaries from the East visited Kentucky, Cary Allen, Robert Marshall, and Mr. Calhoun, all popular and able preachers. The first-named was the most zealous of the three. He had been converted in a Methodist revival, and gloried in religious awakenings and was successful in promoting them. Through his instrumentality Mrs. Trimble was led to see that her piety was more in form than in spirit, and was brought to examine more carefully the grounds of her faith. She determined to know for herself all about the personal work wrought in the heart by the Holy Spirit, nor did she rest until she could say and feel for herself:

"My God is reconciled,

His pardoning voice I hear;

He owns me for His child,

I can no longer fear."

In 1801 Mrs. Trimble accompanied her husband to the great Cane Ridge camp-meeting, forty miles distant from their home.

They took their road wagon, well filled with provisions for a fortnight, and their children with them. They all shared in the spiritual advantages which the meeting afforded. Laymen and ministers united in leading sinners to Christ, and in this delightful employment Mrs. Trimble took part.

About this time Captain Trimble and his wife were induced by one of their kinsmen in Virginia, who had embraced the Methodist faith, to read Fletcher's "Checks." They obtained a copy from a local preacher, and did so. Both became thoroughly convinced of the truth of the doctrines of Methodism as opposed to those of Calvinism. Soon after Mrs. Trimble heard a sermon by Nathanael Harris, one of the early Methodist itinerants in Kentucky; and, introducing herself, invited him to come and preach at her house. An appointment was made, and Mr. Harris was there to fill it. At the request of Captain and Mrs. Trimble, a Methodist society was immediately organ-

ized, including themselves as members, and their house was thenceforward used as a preaching place. Mrs. Trimble now took an active part in building up the Methodist Church in Kentucky and in still further promoting the cause of God.

This change in their religious faith soon began to develop itself in another form. They became convinced that slavery was not right, that it was contrary to the gospel of Christ and inconsistent with their profession of religion; and they took measures to set at liberty the slaves that belonged to them. After some delay on the part of the court, to which Captain Trimble sent the deed of manumission, in admitting it to record, they succeeded in accomplishing their endeavor. But they now felt that it was better for themselves and their children to be free altogether from the influences of slavery, and determined to seek a home in a free State. Accordingly in 1804, Captain Trimble having bought lands on Clear Creek, Highland

County, Ohio, about three miles north of Hillsboro, went to his new purchase. Here, with some help which he took with him, he cleared ten acres of ground, put up a neat double log cabin, planted an orchard, and then returned to Kentucky to prepare his family for removal.

But though man proposes, God disposes. Captain Trimble was taken down with sickness soon after his return, and in a few days died. His death was a terrible blow to his family, but he left to his wife and eight children, six of whom were sons, the memory of a good example. The preparations for removal, however, did not stop. His son Allen, who was now of age, relieved his mother of many of the business cares of the family, and much of the work of settling up the estate fell into his hands; but it was not until the autumn of 1805 that they were ready to move. After a journey of six days, over a broken and hilly country, they reached their new home. Upon entering its doors,

Mrs. Trimble dedicated it to the worship of Almighty God. The family joined in a hymn of praise, then she invoked the divine blessing upon her house and household, and besought the Lord to send the missionary of the Cross to her lonely habitation. Ever after, that house was a house of prayer.

Occasionally she was privileged to hear the preaching of the gospel, and when a Methodist society was formed in Hillsboro she united with it. This was the foundation of Methodism in that place. In 1811 she went to the town to reside with her son Allen, and with him she spent the remaining years, which were many, of her life. After making her home in Hillsboro she collected the children of the town on Sunday mornings and afternoons and instructed them out of God's Holy Book. Other religious people soon came to her help, and long before the Church had established a Sunday-school these faithful teachers were giving the young lessons of piety and devotion. At other times she

sought out the poor and relieved their wants; she waited on the sick, and sometimes visited the prisoners in jail. She was always ready for any and every good work, and was especially interested in the salvation of those around her. In several visits which she made to her old home in Virginia she spoke plainly but affectionately to her relatives about the interests of their souls, and strove to show them the need and privilege of a deeper work of grace. On one occasion she even began a prayer-meeting for this end in the home of her sister. Her efforts were not in vain. The Presbyterian minister gave her his aid, and a revival influence there begun spread until it pervaded the entire community, and embraced within its saving effects most of Mrs. Trimble's friends.

She lived to see her sons attain to honor and influence, and all her children well settled in life. Her son Colonel William A. Trimble represented the State of Ohio in the United States Senate; Allen was governor;

Cary A. became a lieutenant in the regular army, and Cyrus a practicing physician in Chillicothe. Her grandson Joseph M. Trimble was for many years a leading member of the Ohio Conference, and occupied some of the best positions in the Church—presiding elder, missionary secretary, trustee of the Ohio Wesleyan University, for long president of the board, professor in Augusta College, and secretary both of his own and the General Conference.

Mrs. Trimble's life was prolonged until she saw her ninety-fourth year. Her last days were spent in an atmosphere of perfect love and serenity. She lived in intimate communion and fellowship with the Divine Spirit; and though she sometimes forgot the names of her nearest friends, even those of her own children, she never forgot the name of her Savior, and her countenance would brighten and her eyes kindle when she spoke of Him. She outlived most of her children, but she anticipated a joyful reunion

with them, her husband, and her daughtersin-law, in that world where farewells and partings are known no more.

ELIZABETH KENTON was the daughter of Stephen and Elizabeth (Clelland) Jarboe. Her father was a native of France, who came to this country and settled in Maryland. Her mother was a well educated woman, deeply pious, and a communicant in the Presbyterian Church. When Elizabeth was seventeen years of age her parents moved to Mason County, Kentucky. This was in the year 1796. Here she became acquainted with General Simon Kenton, who was then a widower, with four children. General Kenton admired her personal bearing and appearance, and loved her. She on her part, like Desdemona listening to the adventures of Othello the Moor, was fond of hearing the general tell the story of his exploits; and when he proposed marriage to her she accepted his proposal, and they were married at Kenton's

Station by the Rev. William Wood, of the Baptist Church, in 1798.

It was a great undertaking for young Mrs. Kenton to take charge of a large family at the very outset of her married life, but she was equal to the task. Pioneer women were competent for anything. Their life in the wilderness was never one of luxury or of ease, it was one of labor and hardship; yet they endured, having the promise of the life that now is, and many, like Mrs. Kenton, having also that of the life to come. She had been trained in all domestic duties by her parents, and she had been taught the elementary branches of learning. She knew how to read and write and cipher well—beyond which few girls, and boys, too, in the new settlements were able to go. Her husband had no schooling whatever, except that he could read and write a little; but he was a man of wide observation and possessed a fund of good sense and practical knowledge, which he turned to the best account in his

expeditions among savage tribes and through the untrodden forests of the West.

A few months after their marriage General Kenton and his wife removed to the State of Ohio, and in the spring of 1799 settled in what was known as the Mad River Country, about four miles north of Springfield. Here the general built two log cabins, where he established his own family and his two widowed mothers-in-law with their households, besides some colored people. The latchstring of his cabin was always out, and a welcome was ready for all who sought his hospitality. Though the Indians had been placated by the treaty of Greenville, there were still many of them roaming about on the borders of the settlements, and some of them visited the cabins of the Kentons. On one occasion an Indian came to the dwelling of Mrs. Kenton and demanded whisky. Being refused, he snatched up her young daughter, still a babe in its cradle, and before he could be prevented, made off with it

through the woods. The mother's feelings may be imagined. When the kidnaper brought the babe to his camp, the other Indians of his party, however, immediately carried it back to its mother, and called on her to say what punishment should be inflicted on the culprit. She required nothing except to be protected from such outrages in the future.

Mrs. Kenton was converted and became a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1808. In 1810 the family removed to Urbana, where they resided for eight years. In 1818 they procured a small section of land in Logan County, and made a clearing, putting up a cabin upon it. Here they obtained a meager living. Much of the time prior to this removal General Kenton was away from his home, seeking to dispose of his property in Kentucky, where he owned large tracts of land. But the land-sharks in that State, and the agents whom he employed, took advantage of his long absence from the

State and his lack of education, and by some legal quirks wheedled him out of all that he possessed, even bringing him into debt and confining him for several years in prison as a delinquent debtor! During all this while Mrs. Kenton managed as best she could, and after their settlement on their own property in Logan County spent the years in unremitting toil.

In 1819 they attended a camp-meeting on Mad River. Here the general met the Rev. Robert W. Finley, whom he had not seen for many years. They had become acquainted in Kentucky, and this interview was interesting to both of them. The services of the camp-meeting had been in progress for several days without any special religious movement in the congregation, until Sunday evening, when it pleased God to pour out His Spirit in a remarkable manner. Many were awakened, and among the number were some of the general's relatives and members of his family. It was not long un-

til the awakening was followed by their conversion. The old hero was a witness of these scenes. His heart was touched, and on the next morning he asked Mr. Finley to go with him into the woods. When they were out of hearing of the encampment the general said: "I want to tell you some things which you must promise never to divulge." Mr. Finley replied that if what he wished to say would affect nobody but themselves, he certainly would never mention it. Sitting down on a log, the general began to describe the feelings of his heart and to disclose its wretchedness; what a great sinner he had been, and how merciful God was in preserving him amid the perils and conflicts of the wilderness. He had been in deaths oft, in captivity and confinement, yet God had delivered him; and all this while he had only rebelled against Him, and withstood His grace. While he was thus unburdening his soul and disclosing the anguish of his spirit, his lips quivered with emotion and great

tears fell from his eyes and rolled down over his cheeks. Both of them fell upon their knees, and the general called aloud to God for mercy and salvation. Mr. Finley pointed him to Jesus as an almighty Savior; and after a long struggle the gate of eternal life was passed, and he found rest for his heavyladen soul. Then from the old veteran, who immediately sprang to his feet, there went up a shout of gladness that made the woods ring. He started on a run for the camp, leaving Mr. Finley behind, and the faster and farther he went, the louder he shouted. His appearance and shouts startled the entire assembly at the encampment; and when Mr. Finley arrived he found an immense crowd around him, to whom he was declaring the goodness and the power of God to save. There was no need now to keep the general's secret; he had published it himself! He immediately united with the Church of which his wife was already a member, and remained

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in its communion during the remainder of his life.

On April 29, 1836, General Kenton died, and his remains were buried on a spot within sight of his home. But in 1865 they were removed to Oakdale Cemetery, at Urbana, and in 1884 a handsome monument was erected at his grave by the State of Ohio the old tombstone being placed at its foot. During his declining years he received a small pension from the government in consideration of his services in the wars with the savages and the British, and this kept him and his wife from actual want. She nursed him with assiduity in his feebleness and last sickness, but her own health was broken, and soon after his death she removed to Indiana, to her daughter's.

She never recovered her strength, which gradually declined until the autumn of 1842, when she became almost helpless. She looked upon approaching death with calmness and resignation; made a disposition of the few

effects belonging to her, giving to each of her children and grandchildren small tokens of her affectionate remembrance, some of them being the workmanship of her own hands; and awaited the end. She retained the use of her faculties to the last, though she had not spoken for some hours before the final moment. She died at the home of her son-in-law, J. G. Parkinson, in Jasper County, November 27, 1842.

Mrs. Kenton was a kind neighbor, an affectionate wife, and a tender and faithful mother. She looked well to the ways of her household, and brought up her children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. She accepted her lot without repining, though she could not help feeling the injustice shown to her husband in Kentucky. In the midst of her poverty she always had a welcome for those who sought her hospitality. A hard worker, most of her years were passed in privation. She never enjoyed any of the luxuries of life, and her chief comfort was

a contented spirit and her prospect of reaching that better country for which she longed. This hope sustained her in all her afflictions.

"Fair land!—could mortal eyes
But half its charms explore,
How would our spirits long to rise,
And dwell on earth no more!"

Besides the names here recorded there are many others equally worthy of mention. The entire State of Ohio during its formative period abounded in the good deeds of its women, not only in the Church, but in society. They trained their sons to be worthy citizens, and their daughters to be noble wives and mothers. They brought up their children to fear God and to keep His commandments. Our educational system is the outgrowth of their home life; our Churches have extended their benevolent work in their Sunday-schools and charitable enterprises, and the State has supplemented their energies in its houses of refuge and its asylums for the orphans and

widows, and homes for the aged, the poor and the afflicted. Where is the hospital that does not have women nurses? Where is the school that does not employ women teachers? Where is the public institution that does not contain women attendants?

We are the inheritors of the spirit and devotion which animated the women of pioneer days; let us transmit the same to our posterity unimpaired.

VII

A TYPICAL REVIVAL

(CHILLICOTHE, 1818-19.)

In the winter of 1818-19 a powerful revival of religion occurred in the town of Chillicothe, Ohio, which for its extent and results has seldom been equaled in the history of Methodism in the West. The Church in that place had for some years been in a low spiritual condition. There were bickerings and fault-findings in the name of godliness; brethren kept aloof from each other; worship had degenerated into formalism; innocent words and actions were wrongly interpreted on the part of self-constituted censors; and they who should have been the nursing fathers and nursing mothers of the younger members were themselves starvelings, and starved others. There were dis-

A TYPICAL REVIVAL

affections in the classes; political differences had wrought religious differences; and all the while no one could detect the beam in his own eye, while he saw the mote in his neighbor's. There was zeal of a certain kind, but it was not according to knowledge or piety.

Such was the condition of affairs in the society when the Ohio Conference met in the fall of 1818. William Swayze was appointed at this session to be the pastor in charge, for the ensuing year, of Deer Creek Circuit, which included Chillicothe. He was then in the prime of manhood, full of Christian activities, an earnest preacher, striving after souls; and though not eloquent, he was good, sensible, plain, "without offense lest the word of God be blamed." His sermons were full of consolation and encouragement to believers, and pungent with divine denunciations of the law against sinners. He would not allow himself to become the favorer or the adversary of any clique or faction in the

Church, and so conducted himself as to win the genuine respect and love of all. And the confidence of the people was not misplaced. He was worthy of their esteem, and never forfeited it.

The first indications of a revival appeared in August. In that month a campmeeting was held on the grounds of White Brown, about twelve miles north of Chillicothe, which was attended by many persons from the town. During the progress of the meeting, some of these, who had gone more for curiosity and recreation than for religious benefit, were awakened, and ere long were converted; while some of the professors of religion were led into a renewed consecration of themselves and their gifts to the Master's service. An increased reverence was manifest among the worshipers in the congregation. Deeper solemnity accompanied the preaching of the Word, and there were several awakenings. A large attendance at Church also showed that more in-

terest was taken, and during the months of September and October a few experienced the pardoning mercy of God. In the course of these two months about twenty were added to the society.

At the quarterly meeting held by John Collins, the presiding elder, on the last Saturday and Sunday of October, the awakenings became more apparent. Many were brought into a serious concern for their souls' salvation. From this meeting the work of reformation went on and increased exceedingly. The Spirit of God was evidently finding His way into the hearts of the people. On the first Sunday in November twentytwo more united with the Church. Convictions for sin were now greatly multiplied, and conversions occurred daily. Upon many lips arose the inquiry, "What must I do to be saved?" and a general seriousness, almost an awe, appeared to be felt by all, whether attending upon public worship or not.

The work of the revival now continued to increase daily. Meetings were held nearly every night in the week, and frequently continued until midnight. At every meeting some new soul fell under the power of divine grace. Many who attended careless and indifferent returned to their homes "burdened and sick and faint." Many who had heretofore "cared for none of these things" now began to see the exceeding sinfulness of sin and cried for mercy. Some who had become backslidden in heart repented and did the first works, while those who had hardened their hearts and rejected the offers of mercy now saw the wrath of God abiding upon them and hastened to flee for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before them in the gospel. Believers in Christ were made to rejoice and praise the Lord from a sense of His loving-kindness to their own souls. The divine presence seemed to be felt by all who attended these meetings. Not a vacant or unconcerned countenance was to

be seen. Seriousness and solemnity were marked on every face, and many who had been accustomed to make a mock at religion were constrained to acknowledge that it was the Lord's doings, and marvelous in their eyes.

The preaching of the Word by Mr. Swayze was constantly accompanied by the divine energy, and the hearts and consciences of his hearers were powerfully affected. Nightly the church was crowded, and thick and fast flew the arrows of conviction among those who had resisted the truth or had hitherto remained impenitent. Abiding impressions were made, and the mourners' bench was crowded with those who were seeking for a new heart. Those who mourned in Zion were numbered by the score, and it is not strange that they who sought found, and to them who knocked was the door opened. By faith they were enabled to lay hold on the promises; and they obtained "beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment

of praise for the spirit of heaviness." God. who is rich in mercy to all that call upon Him, never dishonors His own pledges; and all who in every age and from among all nations have sought unto Him have found Him faithful and just to forgive sins and to cleanse from all unrighteousness. New-born souls, rejoicing in their first love, and glad beyond measure by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, were burdened for the salvation of others. The new converts sought out their unconverted friends and urged them to come to their Savior, nor would they be put off with vain and frivolous excuses. Like the servants of the man who made a great supper and bade many to come to the feast, they compelled them to come in.

One meeting in particular is worthy of special mention, though several were of the same character. It was the prayer-meeting held on Friday night, November 30th. The congregation had not fully assembled, nor had public worship begun; but while the peo-

ple were sitting in solemn silence, the Spirit of the Most High descended and filled the assembly. It was another Pentecost; for though not accompanied with the "sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind," nor with "cloven tongues like as of fire," vet these external evidences could scarcely have imparted a greater consciousness of the divine outpouring than was experienced by almost every one in the house. The people rose involuntarily to their feet; some few in consternation fled from the place; deep and pungent conviction seized many, while more felt "the speechless awe that dares not move." Solemnity sat upon every countenance; and when an invitation was given to penitents to kneel at the mourners' bench, the railing about the chancel was soon crowded. It appeared as if every unconverted person in the room, which was filled to overflowing, felt more or less of the convicting grace of God's Spirit. During the progress of this meeting a number were en-

abled to rejoice in the pardon of their sins and to go away with a heart disburdened of its load of guilt and washed from all its defilement.

The fruits of this evening's exercises were seen on the Sunday following—on which day forty-eight new members were added to the Church. This is the largest number received into the society on any one day during the revival. On this Sunday a love-feast was held, to which a number of serious persons not belonging to the Church were admitted. The presence of Jehovah was most eminently felt. Deep conviction seized several who had not hitherto yielded themselves servants of righteousness, and they now prostrated themselves before the Lord and cried aloud for mercy. At the hour for public preaching, when the doors were opened, the house was immediately filled; but so loud were the united cries of the penitents and the shouts of praise from those who had just then emerged from darkness into light

and from the power of Satan into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, that the preacher could not be heard. Services were continued uninterruptedly from 9 o'clock in the morning until near midnight, and during its progress a number were delivered from their burden of guilt and testified that God has power on earth to forgive sins.

The revival which during the months of September, October, and November had, like a flowing stream, deepened and widened in its progress, in December reached the magnitude and impetuosity of a mighty torrent. Awakenings became more general. classes were moved and people of all ranks in society were affected. Conversions were more frequent, clear, and powerful. The congregations which attended public worship were greatly increased in number and in serious and solemn attention. The Church was usually filled at every meeting, and especially on Sabbaths, when it was crowded to excess. It is supposed that there were fre-

quently over a thousand persons present. The house seated, when full, about eight hundred. The manifestations of the divine power and presence at almost every meeting were astonishing. It was not possible to behold the various operations of the Spirit without the deepest emotion. At one and the same time might be seen sinners groaning for redemption through the blood of Christ, and newborn souls shouting the praises of their Deliverer. The pious, who had long before tasted and seen that the Lord is good, also rejoiced with joy unspeakable and full of glory, uttering thanksgivings and praises for His wonderful dealings with their own souls. To them the Spirit came in unstinted measure, and they were filled with all the fullness of God. "O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God!"

The chancel was usually crowded with mourners, where there were frequently as many as fifty or sixty at once, pouring out strong cries and tears in the anguish of their

hearts. By this time the attention of the citizens of the town generally was directed to the subject of religion. Those who were in the habit of attending the meetings could not refrain from talking about the revival of religion at the Methodist Church, and it became the principal topic of conversation. Many, of course, as is always the case, opposed the work of grace, possessing neither godliness nor the form thereof; while some who did possess the form knew nothing of its power, and spoke against it either in slight or contempt. Others there were, however, of a different spirit; who, though not Methodists and not accepting Methodist doctrine, were candid and liberal, and gave it their approbation, and their prayers and wishes for its success. The Redeemer's kingdom was in their estimation broader than Church lines and Church creeds.

Early in the revival three young men who had shown much opposition to it paraded the streets one night in company with a

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drunkard, whom they employed to aid them in ridiculing and making a mock of the religious exercises at the church. Causing the drunken man to kneel down in the street, they pretended to pray for him as a person under conviction, seeking religion. Then they would cause him to rise to his feet and utter expressions of praise, telling him he was now converted. This and other blasphemous travesties of divine things they performed the same night on the streets opposite the homes of the leading Methodists. In the midst of their wicked sport a sudden extraordinary light passed over the town, apparently very near to them. Unknowing what it was, and struck with terror at the sight of the meteor, they looked upon it as a messenger from heaven, sent to warn them of the wrath of an offended God. Their knees smote one against the other, and their hearts quaked. As soon as they could speak, one of them said to the others, "That is a loud call to us to repent, and it is probably

the last that I shall ever have." They immediately separated, and returned to their homes. Two of them were seized at once with conviction of sin, and the terrors of the law seemed to thunder in their consciences. Upon retiring to bed they could not sleep. They wrestled in agony, calling upon the Lord, whom they had provoked, for mercy. For several days they continued in the deepest distress of mind, but deliverance came at last. Both were converted and became members of the Church. One of the two was a ring-leader in disturbing the worship of God at the church only two months before this time, but now, like persecuting Saul-"behold, he prayeth."

The revival reached its highest point in December, but continued with little abatement of interest through the months of January and February following. During this work of grace there were added to the Methodist Church in Chillicothe two hundred and twenty new members. The greater part of

these—perhaps four-fifths at least of the whole number—were young persons of both sexes, in the bloom of life. And it was remarked by several old and experienced preachers who came to visit the revival and lend their assistance in its progress, that they never witnessed more evident marks of a solid and genuine work of grace than those exhibited by most of the young converts; nor had they ever been present in any revival of religion of such an extent where there was less extravagance or disorder. In this work the Presbyterian Church likewise shared. Several new members were admitted on a profession of faith, while some of the older members were "renewed in the spirit of their minds," and brought forth fruit to the glory and praise of God by their exemplary walk and conversation.

In the Methodist Church on Deer Creek Circuit, and especially in the town, there was a considerable increase in the piety and devotion of the older members. Many of them

saw and felt the need of a deeper work of grace in their own souls and groaned earnestly for full redemption. The "higher life" was not at that time so prominently taught as it is now, yet the pulpit was not silent as to the doctrine of "the second blessing." It was sung in our hymns, and a few professors of sanctification cautiously gave their testimony to their enjoyment of personal holiness. At this revival a few entered into that perfect rest of faith, and testified to the sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit in their lives. As an instance of this experience I give that of one of the participants in this great revival. It is found in one of his private letters to a friend, dated March 12. 1819:

"As it respects myself, I know not where to begin the wondrous account of the unspeakable goodness of God to me. During the last seven weeks the Lord has frequently filled my cup of blessing with as much of

¹ Samuel Williams, of Cincinnati.

His divine presence as I could well bear. I felt, however, frequently the corruption of my own heart struggling to overcome me. I labored against it and besought the Lord that He would give me a clean heart. The enemy of souls thrust at me his severest darts, and endeavored to persuade me that I did not enjoy religion and was deceiving myself. I presented my case before the Most High in earnest and importunate prayer, and frequently, for several days. Three days ago this morning, while engaged in family worship, the Lord took my cause into His own hand. His Spirit was upon me; I could scarcely speak; and when we rose from our knees I walked out to the porch to try to compose myself to sit down to breakfast. I can not describe my feelings. I felt happy, but could not understand the unaccountable sensations I experienced. I sat down to the table, but had taken but one mouthful of food when the streams of grace divine poured into my soul! I even then endeavored to compose myself, but in a minute or two my cup was full and overflowing. I was compelled to rise from the table and praise my God

aloud for His goodness to me. I retired to an upper room and, falling on my knees, adored the riches of Divine grace. I went to the window and thought all nature changed, and the very trees on the hill appeared to me to be reaching up their branches toward heaven to praise the Lord.

"The room soon filled with my pious neighbors and brethren, who came in to rejoice with me and praise the Lord on my. behalf, and continued with me till the afternoon, during all which time I was unable to take any breakfast. Suffice it to say that most of the time these four days my earthen vessel has been full and running over. I have not been able to compose myself to pursue my work in the office.2 I tried it the second day, but was, after restraining myself some time, compelled to give way and praise the Lord aloud in the office. I have spent most of these four days in visiting from house to house, encouraging my brethren, and calling sinners to repentance. The Spirit of the

² That of the Surveyor-General of the lands northwest of the Ohio River. Governor Tiffin was at that time the incumbent of the office, and had the direction of all the surveys in that portion of the United States. Mr. Williams was his chief clerk.

Lord appears to accompany my weak efforts in almost every case; and I feel that I am, in this delightful work, performing the will of my adorable Master. I am more than ever convinced that the Lord has a work for me to do, and that He is preparing me for it. His great goodness to me has become known over the town, and even several of the Presbyterian brethren have called to see meacknowledging that it is the marvelous doings of the Almighty. I was at first afraid to believe that the Lord had really given me a clean heart—that perfect love which casteth out fear; but looking to Him for the evidences of the Holy Spirit, I am clearly pointed back to the unspeakable blessing I received four days ago; and from the entire change which has taken place in my feelings, I can no longer doubt the reality of its being the sanctifying grace of God!

"I find the cross of Christ to be rest to my soul. About two months ago our stationed preacher placed a class of women, of about twenty-two members, under my charge. The cross of leading this class was at first almost insupportable, but it is always ren-

dered a blessing to me. My class is the most flourishing in the society, being composed mostly of old established members. I feel myself under obligation to Redeeming Love so much, it would be unpardonable ingratitude if I should fail to do all in my power to promote the work of the Lord."

But the work of the revival did not yet cease. Before the end of February two hundred and twenty members were added to the Church. The warmth of zeal, the earnestness of devotion, the fervency of spirit, the growth in grace, and the general improvement of the Church still continued. The large increase in membership, and especially in the congregations that every Sunday assembled for preaching, rendered it necessary to build a new house of worship, and it was at once undertaken. It was located on the north side of Second Street, between Paint and Walnut, and constructed of brick, two stories in height, and of a size seventy by forty feet. Within the year it was com-

pleted, and by the following winter was ready for occupancy. During the greater part of this great revival, general class-meetings were held weekly, for the members of the society only, and for such serious persons as desired admission to the Church. These meetings were conducted similarly to love-feasts, and were found to be peculiarly profitable and edifying. All contentions ceased; Divine love had melted all hearts and fused all tempers into one, and while they "spoke often one to another, the Lord hearkened and heard."

The character of this revival was that of a deep, rational, and solid work of grace. It was entirely free from extravagances which have sometimes accompanied great revivals, and its results were felt after many long years. The flame kindled at this time in so many hearts never burned out. Within the Conference year 1818-19, at Chillicothe alone upwards of three hundred souls were added to the Church. The greatness of the work—

for it continued many weeks—rendered Mr. Swayze's duties extremely laborious and fatiguing. His continued and excessive labors greatly exhausted his strength and endangered his health. His preaching was rendered by Divine help effectual in the awakening of many scores of careless sinners. The local preachers and official members were generally of one mind and heart, and ably assisted their pastor in these services. When Moses has Aaron and Hur to uphold his hands, the hosts of Israel prevail.

VIII

AN EPISODE OF CINCINNATI METH-ODISM (1811)

In 1811 the Western Conference met for the last time in Cincinnati. At that date there were fifty-eight preachers in full connection to man the entire work extending over Western Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio; seventeen were this year received into full connection; fifteen were continued, and twenty-four admitted, on trial. Seven located. Bishops Asbury and McKendree presided, and Learner Blackman acted as secretary. The sessions were held in the old market house, a two-story structure on Pearl Street near Broadway.

During the sitting of that Conference in October three of the younger members of the body, Peter Cartwright, Thomas Stillwell,

and Samuel Griffin, procured the printing in tract form of a low and pitiful doggerel entitled "The Dagon of Calvinism, or the Moloch of Decrees: a Poem in Three Cantos." The pamphlet contained about thirty-two pages, and was printed without the approbation or even the knowledge of the other members of the Conference, as it was the intention of the parties named to circulate it mainly throughout their circuits in Kentucky, where Methodism needed to act not only on the defensive, but on the offensive. A few copies got out, notwithstanding the clandestine manner in which it was printed, and were circulated in the city. The author, it was said, was a Mr. Smith, of New England, a man who never belonged to the Methodist Church. It had been printed in Boston, anonymously, and without copyright, as a contribution to the controversial theology of the day—a remarkable protest against the Calvinistic doctrines of election, reprobation, and eternal decrees. But this poem was not

the only protest against Calvinism in that stronghold of Augustinian doctrine. The following advertisement appeared in *The Boston Evening Post* of Monday, August 17, 1767:

"This day is published and sold by T. and I. Fleet, in Cornhill, price 9d. single or 8s. per dozen, An Essay on Universal Redemption, wherein is shown, That Christ did not die purely for the sake of a small part of mankind, but all and every man; That by Christ every man is put into a capacity of obtaining everlasting salvation: That neither Adam's sin nor any of our own hath made the blessed God implacable and irreconcilable, but that He will afford all necessary grace to enable and excite us to faith, repentance, and a godly life; And that upon the faithful improvement of this abundant mercy and help, He will most assuredly forgive all men their sins, justify, ever bless, and save them. By John Smith."

As this essay was strongly opposed to Calvinism and is in the same line with the

"Dagon of Calvinism," they were probably both written by the same person. In what year the poem was first published, we are not informed; but it had been current for some time when it was reprinted in Cincinnati. Its method of treating the doctrines of Calvin was exactly adapted to the temperament and idiosyncrasies of such a man as Cartwright, and he saw how effectively he could use it in combating them. It struck a popular vein; it was the argument of Calvin carried to its extreme conclusion. But it was not equal to "Holy Willie's Prayer," by Burns, in presenting the Calvinistic view of election and reprobation:

"O Thou, wha in the heavens dost dwell,
Wha, as it pleases best Thysel',
Sends ane to heaven and ten to hell,
A' for Thy glory,
And no' for ony guid or ill
They 've done afore Thee!'' etc.

Accordingly Mr. Cartwright, in connection with the other two, had it reprinted without

change at the office of John W. Browne and Company, proprietors of the *Liberty Hall*, afterwards the *Cincinnati Gazette*.

A copy of this pamphlet, soon after the Conference adjourned, fell into the hands of the Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, and, as might be expected, produced an explosion. The Doctor boiled over with wrath and ecclesiastical indignation at the caricature. Calvinism was at that day preached without dilution, and to that system of faith Mr. Wilson was committed by preference and education. Even then he was regarded as a leader in Zion. His marked individuality and his earnest enforcement of the divine requirements, his stirring appeals and his strong convictions made him a successful and useful pastor. He was born in Bedford County, Virginia, September 22, 1774, and emigrated with his father's family to Kentucky in 1781. In that State he was ordained to the ministry by the presbytery of Transylvania, and installed

as pastor of Bardstown and Big Spring Churches in 1804. In May, 1808, he came to Ohio and took charge of the First Presbyterian Church in Cincinnati, of which he remained pastor until his death, in 1846. When the Church of which he was a minister divided into two sections, the Old School and the New School, he adhered to the former. As he was unwilling to countenance heresy in his own denomination, he did not hesitate in 1835 to prosecute Dr. Lyman Beecher before the presbytery and synod of Cincinnati for his semi-Arminian views in theology. Dr. Beecher was then a professor in Lane Seminary, and also pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Cincinnati. Doctor's teachings were thoroughly sifted by the presbytery, and he was acquitted. The same disposition which made Mr. Wilson contend for the faith in his own sect led him to contend against heterodoxy in The publication of the pamphlet others.

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mentioned gave him an opportunity to antagonize what he regarded as heresy.

Conceiving the "Dagon of Calvinism" to be a libel upon the doctrines of the Church, and an outrage upon learning, piety, and every principle of friendship and social harmony, he addressed a note to Messrs. John W. Browne and Company, demanding answers to the following questions: "Who is the author of the publication above mentioned? What rank does he hold in the Methodist Church? And where do you expect he may be found? As these questions in the present case are reasonable, I submit them to your candor," wrote Mr. Wilson, but he obtained no satisfaction. Mr. Browne was absent from the city on a tour to the East, and Mr. J. H. Looker, the other partner of the firm, declined to reply; for the very good reason, probably, that he did not know. Foiled in this first effort to get information, Mr. Wilson wrote to John W. Browne's son, Samuel J. Browne, then an employee in the

office, and a member of the Methodist Society in Cincinnati, a rather threatening letter. "Should you think proper," said he, "to answer the questions proposed in my letter to the company, I then shall have no complaint against you as a printer, provided you were well paid for the job; but should you refuse my reasonable request, I shall be under the painful necessity of treating you as the slanderer, and trying whether the religious society to which you belong will retain in their connection a man who by his overt acts manifests himself unfit for the kingdom of heaven."

To these imperious threats young Browne very properly paid no attention; but in conversation with some of his friends he said, "There are enough willing to father it." He however withheld the names of his employers, if he knew them, and he certainly did not know the name of the author any more than did Mr. Looker or Mr. Cartwright. A more offensive and dictatorial course

could not have been pursued by Mr. Wilson, and his knowledge of human nature must have been small if he supposed he could wrest the desired information in that way. He first charges Browne with having violated a civil law. "You can not be ignorant," he says, "that when a printer conceals the author of a slander, he himself is liable to answer for the crime." He then threatens him with a Church prosecution, and finally denounces him as unfit for the kingdom of heaven! There is not a single expression of courtesy, nor is there a spirit of meekness and brotherly love, in this correspondence. Towards those who did not speak according to his shibboleth, Mr. Wilson exhibited only contempt. He set himself up as the censor general of the community.

Failing to gain the desired information from young Browne, though he waited ten days for it, Mr. Wilson addressed the following letter to the presiding elder, the

preacher in charge, and other leaders of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Cincinnati:

"CINCINNATI, OHIO, Oct. 30th, 1811.

"FRIENDS AND BRETHREN:

"Any occurrence which is productive of discord or unsocial feeling among those who profess the Christian name, and especially among those who have in any way agreed to unite in Christian fellowship, ought to be lamented by every friend to order and brotherly love.

"Our Lord has indeed told us that offenses must come," but He has not in the least degree intimated that offenders are excusable.

"During the sitting of the late Conference in Cincinnati a very offensive publication was poured into the lap of the public, which uncontradicted fame says came from a Methodist quarter. All who believe and teach that system of doctrine called Calvinism have just cause of complaint against the editor of that book. It is well known to be contrary to the rules of the Methodist Epis-

copal Church to issue improper publications; therefore to that society an application ought first to be made for redress and the fact fully ascertained whether they will disavow the publication and exercise their discipline upon offenders, or whether they will justify the nefarious work and thereby become answerable at the tribunal of the public, the bar of conscience, and the judgment seat of Christ. Having made these remarks, I, Joshua L. Wilson, pastor of the first Presbyterian congregation in Cincinnati, believing and teaching that system of doctrine called Calvinism, but which is in fact 'the doctrine of Paul and of Paul's Master,' lay before the Methodist Episcopal society in Cincinnati the following charges against Samuel J. Browne, one of their members, viz.;—

"1. That the said Browne did, in the month of October, 1811, during the sitting of the annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal society in Cincinnati, print and publish an offensive pamphlet called 'The Dagon of Calvinism, or the Moloch of Decrees,' etc., in which an attempt is made by falsehood and slander to hold up to odium

and contempt all Christians except Methodists and other Arminians.

- "2. In said publication learning is made a subject of ridicule, contrary to the rules of every well regulated society.
- "3. That the said Browne, though repeatedly applied to, will not give up the name of the author, thereby virtually assuming the authorship and taking upon himself all responsibility.
- "4. He has declared 'there are enough willing to father' the said publication, thereby insinuating that the leaders of the Methodist society approbate it, which many of the Calvinists are unwilling to believe.

"If any of the above charges be denied, credible witnesses can be introduced to prove their truth. The kind and extent of redress reasonably expected in this case can be properly stated when the cause comes to issue.

"J. L. Wilson."

In this communication the author prejudges the case. It will be noticed that unless the leaders of the Methodist society shall bring the offender to trial and punishment

they will be held as justifiers of a nefarious act, and he implies that if they do not believe the doctrine of Calvin, which is the same as that of "Paul and Paul's Master," they are heretics and misbelievers. It is therefore his prerogative to indicate the nature and degree of punishment to be inflicted by a sister denomination upon an offending member—especially as he, the said Joshua L. Wilson, is right and the Methodists wrong! To this extraordinary letter the leaders of the Methodist Church returned the following answer:

"CINCINNATI, 20 Nov., 1811.

"REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

"Through the medium of your letter addressed 'to the leaders of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Cincinnati,' we learn that your mind, together with the minds of many of the citizens of this place, are considerably agitated with respect to a pamphlet lately reprinted, styled the 'Dagon of Calvinism, or the Moloch of Decrees,' etc.

"We cordially lament any occurrence

which should produce discord, or unsocial feelings, among those who profess the Christian name.

"We can assure you, sir, that the Methodist Episcopal Church never patronized said publication, either in a general or annual conference capacity; and so far from its being an act of the annual conference held at this place, or of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Cincinnati, we are confident that neither they nor the conference knew nothing of it, nor of its being reprinted until some time after it was circulated. All that we can say on the subject is, that, if the persons who had the pamphlet reprinted have done wrong, they must answer for it at a proper tribunal, if called upon in an official way.

"We are respectfully yours,

"Solomon Langdon,
"Presiding Elder;
"William Burke,
"Asst. Preacher, Cin'ti Circuit;
"O. M. Spencer,
"Local Preacher;
"Ezekiel Hall,
"Class Leader."

The Methodist brethren, upon reading the charges made against Browne, found no grounds to authorize an investigation of his conduct. He had done nothing worthy of censure or trial by the Church, and they let the matter drop. Had Mr. Wilson been less assuming or dictatorial in his manner, they would probably have been more specific in their reply. They deemed it sufficient to explain to Mr. Wilson that neither the Conference nor the society had ever authorized or patronized the "Dagon of Calvinism," and that they were as ignorant of its being published as Mr. Wilson himself, until they saw it in circulation. The rule respecting the issuing of improper publications related only to books written by the traveling preachers themselves, and could not apply to laymen. In those days of religious controversy some latitude was necessarily given by the Conference, and I am not aware that Mr. Cartwright or his associates were ever called to account for their share in this transaction,

especially as the work was not of their own writing. It is certain that no ecclesiastical notice was taken of Cartwright's pamphlet, "A Letter to the Devil," printed about the same time, in answer to one, written anonymously, and sent to him by three Presbyterian clergymen of Kentucky as coming from his Satanic Majesty himself. These letters are reprinted in "Fifty Years as a Presiding Elder," and show how our fathers once had to "contend earnestly for the faith." As a rule, Methodism had heretofore acted only on the defensive, and our preachers fortified themselves against assault on account of their doctrines by a diligent study of our earlier Disciplines and the polemical works of John Fletcher and the tracts and sermons of Mr. Wesley. Mr. Cartwright was not content with doing this alone, but he believed in making an assault upon the defenses of the enemy. Here was a good opportunity for him to do so, and as a member of the Church militant he buckled on his armor

and did valiant service for the cause which he had espoused.

The answer which the Methodist leaders in Cincinnati returned to Mr. Wilson's letter was by no means satisfactory. His principal objections to it were: 1. That his complaint against Samuel J. Browne was not attended to; 2. That they had represented the pamphlet in question as being reprinted; and 3. That they did not pronounce any opinion on its contents. These he expressed in the following letter, which, though long, will interest the reader:

"CINCINNATI, 5th Nov., 1811.

"Gentlemen [they are no longer 'friends and brethren']:

"Your communication of the 2d inst. contained in it no kind of satisfaction. I was sorry to discover that studious evasion which seemed intended to cast an illusion upon the mind and divert the attention from the real and proper object. In the introduction I was arrested by the 'agitated minds of many citizens of this place.' I am entirely at a loss

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to know how you 'learned that fact through the medium' of my letter. I made no such communication either directly or indirectly. If the minds of many of the citizens of this place be agitated, you must have known the circumstance through some other medium. As to my own mind being 'agitated,' if that word be used to signify excited or moved, I have no objection; but if you mean affected with perturbation, which is the common acceptation, I am happy to know that your conception is erroneous.

"But you assure me 'that the Methodist Episcopal Church never patronized the Dagon of Calvinism either in a general or annual conference capacity.' To deny before we are asked, and plead innocence when we have never been accused of guilt, must always be ranked among suspicious circumstances. It would, however, be almost impossible to persuade me that your bishops, elders, and deacons possess such a consummate portion of weakness as 'to patronize in a conference capacity' such a diabolical publication. But this is more than I can say of them as individuals. I have reason to think,

and you have not intimated to the contrary, that as individuals the greater part possess weakness and wickedness enough to patronize the hateful Idol, and peddle it to the ends of the earth.

"I am also assured, 'it is not an act of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Cincinnati.' I never thought or intimated that it was. It is hard indeed to conceive to what lengths the society in Cincinnati might be led by an infuriated party zeal; yet I have been happy in an acquaintance with a few members of that Church who, I conceive, are incapable of such a vile act as the publication of 'Dagon.' There are, however, two ways by which the Methodist Episcopal Church in Cincinnati can make it their own act—either by refusing to try the accused person or by justifying his conduct after a regular trial. And there is one way, and one only, by which they can escape the just censure of an enlightened public, viz., by expelling from their connection a wretch who, for the sake of filthy lucre, and to answer party purposes, has become the publisher and vender of slander.

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"My complaint was not made against the conference. My charges were not against the 'Methodist Church in Cincinnati.' They were against an individual, designated by name. They were laid before the leaders of the society of which he is a member, and the society were bound by their own rules 'to have the accuser and the accused face to face.' But your letter loses sight of Samuel J. Browne, and Joshua L. Wilson's charges against him, and your whole souls become engulfed in 'conference capacity, act of Church,' etc. And to complete the climax of Methodistical finesse I am gravely told 'all we can say upon the subject is, that if the persons who had the pamphlet reprinted have done wrong, they must answer for it at a proper tribunal, if called upon in an official way.' And is this all you can say? A friendly, unprejudiced mind would perhaps think that a few words of information might have been added when you found me ignorant of your 'proper tribunal and official way.' I had thought from your book of Discipline that the proper tribunal at which an accused person should

be brought to trial was 'the society of which he is a member, or a select number of them.' I had thought my charges were laid in officially. But my opinions must kick the beam when placed in balance with that artifice in which we can discover neither the wisdom of the serpent nor the innocence of the dove.

"'Those persons who had the pamphlet reprinted'—'Reprinted!'—flat contradiction to Mr. Browne. He has dared to stamp upon the title page of Dagon 'printed'—not, reprinted—'for the author,' by which he not only vouches to the world that it is the first publication of the pamphlet, but that he knows the author. He has assumed the authorship and boasts that the work has many fathers. After saying 'all you can,' you have not told us that you or any Methodists under heaven disapprove of the publication. The illusive face of your letter would not prevent me from thinking that every Methodist preacher, from the oldest bishop down to the most untutored circuit rider, approbates the infamous libel.

"'If the persons have done wrong'—If!

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—what, is it really doubtful whether a wrong has been done? Or is it only doubtful whether 'the persons who had the pamphlet reprinted have done wrong?' I readily declare that I doubt whether any such persons exist. But as you aver the fact, in opposition to the editor of the book, my skepticism can only be removed by your withdrawing the curtains which now conceal them and making them stand in the face of day where all honest men are willing to appear. But could anybody do wrong but those nondescript, non-identified re-publishers who are concealed in the 'blackness of darkness?' Could persons do no wrong who could stuff their saddlebags with the detestable thing, and disseminate the infernal Moloch among the ignorant and unstable? Is it doing no wrong to prejudice the minds of men against the truth and hold up the ministers of God as worse than devils incarnate? If Calvinists are to be thus forestalled, if Methodism is to be thus spread and supported by the worst of falsehood and the vilest of slander, heaven forbid that I should be silent!-mildness it-

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self would be a crime. I can never believe that man to be a Christian who would write, print, or approbate the 'Dagon of Calvinism,' for my Bible teaches me that he that loveth as well as he that maketh a lie must stand excluded from the gates of the New Jerusalem.

"With all due respect, I am
"J. L. Wilson."

There is a vast difference between a charge against a system of doctrines or articles of belief, and against an individual. Mr. Wilson seemed to consider an assault upon Calvinism as a personal attack—he at least took it as a personal affront; and like David, who counted as his cause the cause of Jehovah, he made those who hated his creed his enemies; for his creed was, in his view, that "of Paul and of Paul's Master." It was for this reason that he speaks so indignantly in the foregoing letter, to which the Methodist leaders returned the following reply, which closed the correspondence:

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"CINCINNATI, Nov. 6, 1811.

"REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

"This morning we received your truly astonishing letter of the 5th inst. We confess we are considerably at a loss to comprehend your wish or design. We thought our letter of the 3d instant would have been quite satisfactory, and that we had left ourselves entirely accessible.

"We had entertained a hope that you possessed the Christian spirit, that you would have availed yourself of an opportunity of conversing with us, and thereby have come to a proper understanding of the subject of our difference. But since the receipt of your last letter we have lost all hope,—however, we are still willing to give any information to you, or any other person, that will call on us in a Christian or friendly way.

"We cordially regret the unhappy differences that exist between Christians of different denominations; but 'weak and wicked' as the most of us are, we trust we shall always have grace and wisdom enough to deport ourselves as the servants of Christ, and if we are not orthodox, we hope we possess the

spirit of 'Paul and of Paul's Master,' and even to the present hour presume that 'mildness' is no 'crime.'

"We are respectfully yours,

"Solomon Langdon,

"WILLIAM BURKE,

"O. M. SPENCER,

"EZEKIEL HALL."

Of course further correspondence was impossible, and Mr. Wilson endeavored to solace his wounded sensibilities by rushing into print. He issued a small pamphlet in rejoinder to the "Dagon of Calvinism," which he entitled "Episcopal Methodism; or Dagonism Exhibited." This he divided into five scenes: 1. Justice and Controversy; 2. Narrative and Fact; 3. Falsehood and Slander; 4. Ridicule and Scorn; and 5. The Missionary Forestaller. He recited the facts in the case as far as he knew them, and then proceeded to discuss the theories of Calvinism as opposed to those of the Arminians. He did not spare invective, and was guilty of the same species of slander which he com-

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plained of in the author of "Dagon." He endeavored to refute the doctrines of Methodism by stating those of Calvinism, deeming that the latter would command general assent among thinking men, without a prolonged argument. He quoted largely from "Dagon" to show its inconsistencies with "the doctrine of Paul and of Paul's Master;" yet he did not seem to reflect that "he that is first in his own cause seemeth just, but his neighbor cometh and searcheth him."

And this is just what his neighbor did. As soon as Mr. Wilson's pamphlet was "poured into the lap of the public," an "Anodyne Satire" was printed in answer to it, written, it is believed, by Elijah Sparks, a local preacher, but formerly of the traveling connection. There was in it more of the ad hominem than of argumentum. But it was answering a fool according to his folly. The author quotes some of the choice epithets which Mr. Wilson applied to the Methodists, and to those who rejected his

theology: "atheists, infidels, hypocrites, blasphemers, hellish monsters, vociferators, simpletons, fools, idiots," etc. It is not strange to read these words in religious controversy, as it was then carried on, how much odium theologicum there was, when men like Toplady and Rowland Hill had employed the same, and even worse, in their arguments against Mr. Wesley. But Mr. Sparks used anodyne rather than caustic, and the severest charge he brought against his antagonist was the domineering spirit which he exhibited, and his fond use of the capital *I* in his pamphlet.

"The Evangelical Record and Western Review," published in Lexington, Kentucky, commenced in their first number, January, 1812, a review of Mr. Wilson's pamphlet. This falling into the hands of Barnabas McHenry, he printed a pamphlet of fifty pages, containing some "Remarks" upon it, and upon a tract issued only a short time previously at Danville, entitled "A Useful Dis-

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covery." Mr. McHenry thus himself reviews Wilson's pamphlet, vindicating the Methodist doctrine and polity in a calm, dignified, and straight-forward manner; but he has little to say about "Dagon," and does not mention Mr. Cartwright's connection with its publication.

A more sober answer was made to Mr. Wilson's tract by William Burke, preacher in charge of the Cincinnati station. Mr. Burke was an able preacher, thoroughly indoctrinated in Wesleyan theology, and was a foeman worthy of Mr. Wilson's steel. He traversed all of the Calvinistic arguments, and showed that there was also something to be said on the other side. The doctrines of free grace and universal salvation which he presented were shown to be in accord with Scripture and reason. He vindicated the action of the leaders of the Church in not summoning young Browne to trial, for on investigation they found the charges against him to be frivolous. He was only a

job printer, and not an author. On the same principle even Mr. Wilson himself would be liable to a prosecution before his presbytery for preaching against Arminianism. If every Presbyterian had been expelled from the communion of the Church for controverting the tenets of the Methodists in the same spirit, there would have been very few left in it.

William Burke was born in Loudoun County, Virginia, January 13, 1770. He was converted at the age of twenty-one, and almost immediately began to exhort, and soon after to preach, even without a license. He showed himself a man of ability from the very first. In argument he had few equals; in doctrine he was incorrupt; in character blameless; and he knew how to reach the consciences and the hearts of his hearers. Wherever he labored he built up the Church. Many were the fruits of his ministry. He traveled large circuits and still larger districts, and the work prospered in his hands.

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As already intimated, he was the preacher in charge at Cincinnati in 1811. The only church which the Methodists then owned was a small stone edifice erected where Wesley Chapel now stands, on the north side of Fifth Street, near Broadway. It long went by the name of "the Stone Church." Here he preached three times every Sunday, and on Wednesday night. While stationed at this Church his voice failed, and became raucous and hollow; so that at the end of the year he was compelled to take a supernumerary relation. He never resumed active work in the ministry, though he often preached, and in his later years he was a superannuate in the Southern branch of Methodism. He died December 4, 1855, and his remains are interred in the Weslevan Cemetery at Cumminsville. A small headstone in front of the public vault marks the grave where he lies buried.

Neither system of theology suffered by this controversy. It was local in its field and

was confined mostly to the two parties represented in it. The ill-feeling gendered by it speedily gave way to mutual regards and fraternity, and each side strove the more to advance the cause of religion and to bring souls to Christ. In this effort the Methodists were especially successful; for whereas the number in their society in 1811 was 817, in three years' time it was 1,033. From that period forward the Church in Cincinnati had frequent revivals, none, perhaps, in the earlier years of the century more fruitful in results than that of 1817.

IX

METHODISM AND TAMMANY

At the session of the Western Conference in Cincinnati, in 1811, several matters of moment were considered and settled. Benjamin Lakin in his Diary says of this session: "We were several days engaged in the most intricate business that had ever been before our Conference. We had to suspend one man; and another stood so charged that the Conference ordered a committee to inquire into his conduct. Perhaps there are few cases where so much painful and critical business is gone through with as much in the Christian spirit as it was now." And Bishop Asbury in his Journal for Sunday, October 6, 1811, says: "We have been five days sitting in Conference; there has been weighty and critical business before us, but

we wrought with industry and great order." But it was not until Friday, October 11th, five days after the above date, that the Conference adjourned.

One of the items of business considered was an appeal from Chillicothe on a matter of Church discipline; which, though of only local interest, engaged the attention of the Conference, and acquired importance from the standing of some of the parties thereto, and the question of personal rights involved. There had already been trouble in the society at Chillicothe which had rent the Church into two factions; and, strange to say, it was not on account of heresy or ecclesiastical differences, but on account of politics in civil life.

The most assertive layman, and a leader of the Methodist society at that time, was one who, like Diotrephes among the ancient Christians, was fond of power, and "loved to have the pre-eminence." He was a man of some intellectual vigor, had a fair educa-

tion, was a good writer, and was a zealous and unyielding supporter of the Methodist doctrine and polity. In his religious life he was a puritan and an ascetic. He was accustomed to gauge all character and conduct according to his own standard of piety. With a small number of influential members of the Church who were like-minded with himself, he generally carried through his own measures for regulating and maintaining it. A Federalist in politics, he had no sympathy with the Democratic Republicans, whether in the Church or without. He even brought his politics into religion, and whoever was not in accord with his views was regarded by him as unworthy of fellowship and support.

In 1809 a few Methodists who did not think as he did on questions of State, but were equally patriotic and as sound in the Christian faith, determined to celebrate the Fourth of July, without consulting him. About the same time a number of the other residents of Chillicothe held a meeting to

make arrangements for the same purpose. Learning that the Methodists were already at work, they invited their co-operation; and on their agreeing to combine their efforts, a committee of citizens was appointed, including some of the Methodists. One of the latter was elected secretary of the joint committee, and was instructed to publish the proper notices of the affair, and to issue special invitations for a banquet, which he did. Our Diotrephes was indignant. The fact that a Methodist was uniting with the people of the world, or even with members of other Churches, to celebrate a secular day in a secular manner was in his estimation an abandonment of the faith and a profanation of the name of Christian. His opposition to the celebration and his bitter talk against it induced one or two of the Methodists on the committee to withdraw from it. But those who did not coincide with his sentiments and dared to think for themselves, after the celebration, which was conducted in the most

orderly manner, were on his complaint summoned for trial before the Church. The implied charge against them was unchristian conduct and a violation of the rules of the Discipline, though it read only thus:

"For engaging in the celebration of the Fourth of July, partaking of a public dinner, and drinking patriotic toasts!"—

which toasts were drunk in cold water. Where the horrible crime against religion and the Church came in for thus doing, nobody could see except himself and the other brethren who acted with him, and looked upon the matter with prejudiced eyes.

The committee of trial was packed by the prosecutor on purpose to convict, and the accused members were accordingly found guilty of crimes alleged to be expressly forbidden in the Word of God, and of sufficient turpitude to exclude them from the kingdom of grace and glory! They were unconditionally excluded from the Church. Among

those summoned for trial was Dr. William McDowell, formerly an itinerant minister, but now a local preacher in Chillicothe. When his case was called, rather than suffer himself to be tried on so frivolous a charge, and especially as he foresaw what the result would be, he formally withdrew from the Church, and directed the preacher in charge, John Collins, who presided in the trial, to erase his name from the Church records.

The expelled members did not give up their religion, though they were by ecclesiastical censure "delivered over to Satan." Their appeal to the Quarterly Conference, which was then dominated by these leaders, was of no avail to restore them to membership; and so, debarred from the privilege of worship in the Church, and of attending class, they held weekly prayer-meetings of their own. But even this privilege they were not permitted to enjoy in quietness. Some of the members who felt that a great wrong had been perpetrated, and who sympathized

with them, frequently attended their meetings. But objection was made by the prosecutor against this "irregular" proceeding—that of holding fellowship with willful and unrepentant sinners—and they too were made to feel the iron heel of the bigot and the oppressor. They were threatened with like expulsion if they did not desist.

A few weeks after this event took place, Bishop Asbury came through Chillicothe on his way to the Western Conference, to be held at Cincinnati, September 30, 1809. On hearing an account of the transaction, perhaps from Governor Tiffin, he sharply reproved the circuit preacher for allowing it to be done; but he had no power to redress the wrong, though he would gladly have done so.

At the Annual Conference of that year, Solomon Langdon was appointed presiding elder of the Miami District, which included Chillicothe. Mr. Langdon was a man of sweet spirit, and greatly beloved by the peo-

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ple of his district, especially by those in Chillicothe, where he was blessed with a gracious revival. It began in the summer of 1810. A few of the expelled members came back on probation—they were too wedded to the Methodist doctrine and polity to unite with the Episcopal or the Presbyterian Church;—others Mr. Langdon received into full membership at once; but none of them showed any contrition or made any acknowledgment of guilt. All this was a matter of great chagrin to those who had been active in their prosecution, and they accused Mr. Langdon of maladministration on his district, and other offenses. They drew up a memorial to that effect, to be presented at the next Annual Conference. This they circulated in town for signatures. The most active in these measures was our Diotrephes. He was the actual head and front of the movement. He wanted to show the distinction between real and nominal Methodists; but his proceedings were brought to a sum-

mary close. Bishop Asbury was again in Chillicothe in the fall of that year, and was told the whole story of these doings in detail. He exonerated Mr. Langdon, and directed the class leader—there was but one at that time—to bring the ring-leaders to trial, if they persisted, for sowing discord in the society. But their fault-finding with Mr. Langdon, and their dissensions with the members, produced a result they had not intended—it put a sudden stop to the revival, to the great detriment of the new converts and to the harm of the entire membership. The meetings became cold and lifeless; there was no further evident growth in grace; there were no more penitents at the altar for prayer, and no more conversions, or accessions to the Church. Zion had settled on its lees.

In the year 1810 a branch of the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, was organized in Chillicothe. The society was the representative of Democratic Republican

principles, as opposed to those of the Federalists, and was founded in the city of New York with the express object of counteracting the influence of the Federal party and the aristocratic Society of Cincinnati. It drew into its membership in Chillicothe some of the best Methodists and other religious people, and held its meetings once a month. It did not at first meet with antagonism from any of the Methodist society. The Federalist members of the Church, and our Diotrephes in particular, were of course opposed to it; but political preferences alone could not be made a matter of Church notice. The leader of the dominant faction in the Church had not forgotten his discomfiture the year before, and soon took measures to attempt a recovery of his standing and influence. This he hoped to gain by humiliating the Tammany members, especially those of them who had been expelled for celebrating the Fourth of July.

In this effort he was assisted by another

prominent Methodist, a physician, who had formerly been an itinerant preacher, but had located. This man had applied for membership in the society, but had been rejected. He was not considered by the Tammany brethren stable in his political views, and they did not want a waverer for an associate. Whether after his rejection he got new light about the Tammany Order, or whether he sought to avenge himself on the Church members belonging to it as the authors of his defeat, it is certain that he used his influence against them. He excited animosities either by inventing or taking up false reports concerning them.

The anniversary of the society occurred annually on the twelfth day of May, or on the day following if the twelfth was Sunday. In 1811 the society celebrated its anniversary on Monday, May 13th, with a "long talk" by Governor Tiffin, who was then the Grand Sachem, and by walking in procession from their "wigwam" to the

place where a dinner was prepared, of which the members partook, and by responding to a few political and patriotic sentiments.

All this while the Federalists of the town, the political opponents of the Democratic Republicans, were endeavoring to counteract the influence of the Tammany organization by circulating injurious reports concerning it. There were a few members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Chillicothe, besides those mentioned, who were Federalists; and to give greater effect to the political contest carried on by the Federalist party with their opponents, they industriously set themselves about exciting prejudices against their Tammany brethren, and fomenting unfriendly feelings towards them, thus creating additional discord in the Church itself.

The Tammany brethren, relying upon their conscious rectitude of conduct and their innocence of any just cause of offense, made no effort to repel these attacks upon them, hoping that such unreasonable prejudice

would soon die away. In this they were mistaken. The leaders in the persecution against them having succeeded in winning over to their side many of the Methodists of the town, stirred up an amount of bickering and disaffection, all of which was charged upon the Tammany brethren, though they were themselves the real instigators of it.

In this state of things a meeting of the entire Methodist membership in town was called by the Rev. Ralph Lotspeich, the circuit preacher that year, about the 17th of June (1811), and the whole affair was canvassed and discussed. Mr. Lotspeich gave it as his decided opinion that to belong to the Tammany Society violated no order of the Church, and was not a matter of offense cognizable by any rule of the Discipline. Some of the members, however, who had been active in the persecution of the Tammany Methodists, offered a resolution requesting them to withdraw from the organization as a means of "restoring peace and harmony

to the Church." On their part they agreed to be entirely satisfied with such an action, and to refrain from all conversation or movements in the future that might stir up ill feeling or give offense to the present Tammany brethren. On these conditions several of the latter consented to withdraw from the Order, and did so. Probably all would have done the same, had they been left in quietness; though all reserved to themselves their undoubted right to defend the political views and the design of the Society, and to vote with them at the public polls.

Scarcely had the meeting been dismissed when the anti-Tammany brethren began to taunt their victims about being compelled to withdraw from the society. They even kept on circulating their former aspersions as to the principles and doings of the Order, and as to the members themselves, perhaps believing that they were stating the truth and thus glorifying God. This was their method of "restoring peace and harmony." Alas!

how often are men deceived into a belief of their own sincerity, and falsehood assumes the garb of truth. "The heart is deceitful above all things."

To this conduct on the part of their accusers, the Tammany brethren who had not withdrawn from the Order naturally objected. Feeling aggrieved, some of them addressed a communication to Mr. Lotspeich, giving details, and asking him, as preacher in charge, when he came to town, to put a stop to it. But to this communication he paid no attention. On the other hand, he ate his own words, and suffered himself to entertain charges of immorality against the Tammany brethren, on no other ground except simply that they were members of the Tammany Order. These charges were made against Governor Edward Tiffin and a few other laymen. The principal crime alleged was "Idolatry;" and the sole specification was, "In being members of a society designated by the name of a heathen, and cele-

brating the anniversary of an Indian chief, Tammany, on the 13th day of May last!"

A committee, every one of whom was known to be inimical to the Tammanyites, was appointed by the circuit preacher to try these brethren. After hearing the statements of the prosecutor and the other accusers, without allowing any explanation or testimony in defense, and without any proof of the crime of idolatry, they found the accused guilty. Governor Tiffin being a local preacher was suspended by Mr. Lotspeich from all ministerial functions, and the others were expelled.

To show somewhat of the character of these high-handed and arbitrary proceedings, it may be proper to state that one of the accused was not notified by the preacher of the charges against him until 9 o'clock at night, near his hour for retiring, when he was summoned to appear before the committee for immediate trial. Being old and infirm, it was not prudent for him to attend

at such an unseasonable hour, and he asked that his trial be postponed until a time when he could appear. This request was refused, and his case was called up, in his absence, after midnight. His guilt was taken as confessed because he was not present to answer, and he was expelled. Mr. Lotspeich, who presided at the trial, demanded of another, when the charge was read against him, that he prove his innocence, saying that "they had already heard enough of Tammany." Though no testimony was introduced to establish his guilt—it was not even proved against him that he was a member of the Tammany Society—the prosecutor insisted that it had been clearly shown by the testimony in the cases which preceded. The accused had heard none of it, and of course could not rebut it—only the person on trial being allowed to face the preacher and the committee when his name was called. How his guilt was proved he never knew; but he also was expelled.

One of the committee of trial had weeks before said that if any of the Tammany brethren were put on trial for being members of that society, and he was appointed on the committee, he should vote for their expulsion from the Church on general principles, without a word of testimony against them. He was not a judge, but a hangman; and the prosecutor and the circuit preacher took care that none but hangmen should act on the committee. Their expulsion was determined upon beforehand; and the preacher was weak enough to lend himself to the arrangement. With him the half was greater than the whole.

Ralph Lotspeich was a good man, earnest in the work of the ministry, but with little education and of slender attainments. He knew the plan of salvation and was able to present it. Under his ministry souls were converted and brought into the Church. He understood Methodist doctrine and could tell the story of the Cross; but he had no ju-

dicial ability and no discursive faculty. His views were narrow; he was easily biased for or against any principle or person by others of stronger mind, and he was quick to decide questions on partial information. He was a follower rather than a leader. For this reason he did not secure the controlling influence he might have gained in the circuits which he traveled. Though his style was fervent and his heart sincere, he never became more than a second-rate preacher. In Chillicothe there was a large Democratic Republican element, even in the Church circles; but Mr. Lotspeich unconsciously became the tool of the Federalists. He, like them, clung to old measures. They adhered to the past. They did not know that the Nation had for long been throwing off its clogs and asserting its freedom from traditions and precedents. President Madison, though commencing a Federalist, was now entertaining democratic views and conforming his administration to more popular ideas; but these men

changed never. What was good enough for the fathers was good enough for them. They were strenuous believers in the doctrine of letting well enough alone. If their ancestors carried their meal on horseback from the mill in one end of the sack, with a stone in the other to balance it, they would not adopt the witty method of the boy who divided the meal equally between the two ends and threw away the stone. They knew no such word as progress.

Yet these brethren who united in persecuting their fellow members and severing all fraternal relations between them were pious and devoted Methodists, and followers of their Lord. With their conscientious but uneducated views of the religion of Jesus and the welfare of the Church, they endeavored to purge it of what they esteemed to be dross. They were faithful in the discharge of their duties toward it, taking part in the public services, punctual in their attendance upon preaching, the class and prayer meetings,

and other means of grace, and contributing of their means to the support of the gospel. But this zeal was not according to knowledge. Their self-satisfaction was supreme, and their ignorance was greater than their humility. How often the Spirit of God can dwell in hearts and homes where we can not dwell!

The lay members of the Tammany Society who were expelled appealed from the decision of the committee that tried them, and the action of the circuit preacher, to the Quarterly Conference. The Conference, not being now under the domination of the anti-Tammany clique, restored them to membership. Dr. Tiffin appealed to the Annual Conference, which was to meet that year in Cincinnati. Of this appeal and of the appellant we shall now proceed to give some account.

Edward Tiffin was a native of Carlisle, Cumberland County, England, where he was born June 19, 1766. He began the study of medicine at an early age, and in 1784 came

to the United States and settled in Charlestown, Berkeley County, Virginia. Having finished his medical studies, he began the practice of his profession, in which he was eminently successful. He married in 1789, and in the year following both himself and wife were converted and united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. Immediately after being received into the Church he became convinced of his call to the work of the ministry, and without waiting for a license began to preach. His preaching was pathetic and powerful. Two years subsequently he was ordained a local deacon by Bishop Asbury, and in 1796 removed to Chillicothe, then a small village, where he built the first house that had a shingle roof.

In the autumn of 1799, Dr. Tiffin was elected a member from Ross County of the Territorial Legislature; and in 1802, when delegates to the convention which framed the first constitution of the State of Ohio were chosen, he was one of them. On the assem-

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bling of the convention he was made its president; and on the admission of the State into the Union he was elected the first governor. During all his public life Dr. Tiffin remained a loyal Methodist, and often exercised his gifts as a preacher and class leader.

He did not endure religion, he enjoyed it. His manner was cordial, and he put strangers at once at their ease when they were thrown into his company. He was never light or trifling in his demeanor. His spirit was cheerful and serene. He was never the creature of impulse, but of principle and stability. His temperament was sanguine; he could not sit down and plod at his work, but was accustomed to dispatch at once what his hand found to do. "What he could not do with a flirt," said one of his adversaries, "he could not do at all." Yet he was steadfast in his convictions, never hampered by prejudices, methodical in his life, exemplary in his conduct, an ever-growing, progressive and aspiring Christian.

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As Chillicothe was the seat of government of the State of Ohio in 1811, and its population was continually increasing, it was recognized as a place of some importance; and the appeal of Governor Tiffin to the Annual Conference of that year was carefully considered. Bishops Asbury and McKendree were both present. The sessions were held behind closed doors. Joseph S. Collins was the counsel for Dr. Tiffin. He was a local preacher, proprietor of the Scioto Gazette, a man of versatility, and greatly respected for his genuine worth. The arguments he presented for the reversal of the action of the preacher and the special committee of the Church which tried him were substantially as follows:

1. The committee which tried the doctor was not legally constituted, and its action was therefore null and void. It consisted of three class leaders (one of whom had been appointed as such only six days antecedently to the trial) and two local preachers;

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whereas the Discipline required for the trial of a local preacher at least three of that order if they could conveniently be procured. Of these there were then resident in town more than that number, and in the adjoining part of the circuit others who could have been easily summoned by the preacher for this purpose.

- 2. One of the charges against Dr. Tiffin was made by a man who had been justly expelled from the connection, and was not a member of the Church when they were presented. Besides, he was known to be personally inimical to the doctor; yet Mr. Lotspeich admitted it against him.
- 3. His case was tried in his absence, and when he was confined at home on a sick-bed. It was impossible for him to be present at the trial, and he was not willfully absent. He requested that it should be postponed until he could answer in person; but no attention was paid to this reasonable request, and he was found guilty. Such a course of

action is not in keeping with the Golden Rule, and is at variance with all the laws of jurisprudence, and also with the Discipline, which require that the accuser and the accused shall meet face to face.

4. The charge of idolatry is farcical, and the specification irrelevant—simply celebrating the birthday of an Indian chieftain. The other charges which have been presented before the Conference are of no weightier importance, nor have they been established by proof; and not one of them constitutes a crime, in the view of any reasonable man, sufficient to exclude him from the kingdom of grace and glory.

Mr. Collins made an able and eloquent plea for the reversal of the action of the committee in the case; and when the vote was taken in the Conference, Doctor Tiffin was triumphantly vindicated and restored to his standing and privileges in the Church.

This ended the Tammany case, but it did not restore brotherly affection and harmony

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in the society at Chillicothe. Both parties kept the peace, but they did not coalesce. The Tammany Order was soon afterwards dissolved, not by any formal action on the part of its adherents, but by general consent and the indifference of the members. Many of them no longer attended its meetings. The war with Great Britain had broken out, and numbers of both Federalists and Democratic Republicans entered the army. Party politics were merged into patriotism. Tammany in Ohio had fulfilled its mission, and there was no longer need of its existence to antagonize Federalism. It died of inanition, and now there is scarcely the memory of it left. Many who have read the history of Ohio never knew that it once had a local habitation and a name in the State, yet there were branches of it in various places in Ohio. None of them outlived "the era of good feeling."

It would have been better for the Church if the Tammany Methodists, when they were

first assailed, however unreasonably, had quietly withdrawn from the society. By so doing they would not have offended the weak consciences and the still weaker judgments of their brethren; but they stood on their rights. They did not consider that though "all things were lawful unto them, all things were not expedient;" and so some of them looked upon the matter in after years.

The Church survived the feuds which embittered the two sections, and there was at times religious interest among the members. The class-meetings and prayer-meetings were well attended, and the efforts of the circuit preachers were blessed to the good of all. But there was no sweeping revival of religion until 1818-19 under the labors of William Swayze. An account of this revival is given elsewhere. The effects of it were overwhelming. All hearts were fused into one. There was no more division among the members; they worked together as seeing eye to eye, and gave glory to "the Lord and Master of us all." 214

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(CINCINNATI, 1831.)

When the first Methodist class was established in Cincinnati, there were only eight members; but so rapid was the growth of the Church that in less than two years after its planting it was determined to secure ground and erect a building for worship upon it. The leaders of the society accordingly contracted with James Kirby for the purchase of lots 18 and 19 on the northwest corner of Fifth Street and Broadway, at that period in the outskirts of the city, and lying in the midst of open fields.

Kirby's deed was dated September 25, 1805, and the grant was made by himself and wife to William Lynes, Robert Richardson, Christopher Smith, James Gibson, and

James Kirby, as trustees, for the sole purpose of erecting and maintaining thereon "a house, or place of worship, for the use of the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States of America." A like deed from the same persons covering the same premises, with some additional ground, was made October 17, 1807. On this ground, so purchased, the first Methodists put up a neat and convenient chapel, and in process of time a school-room and a parsonage. The chapel was of stone, and occupied nearly the site of the present structure, Wesley Chapel. The parsonage was on the north side of the lot, fronting on Broadway. The school-room was framed of wood and stood to the east of the chapel, where afterwards the "Preachers' Office" was built.

The ground purchased being large, and the buildings occupying only a small portion of the lots, the trustees set apart the remainder of the same for the purposes of burial. Most of the graves were dug along

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the north line of the premises, which were laid out in fifteen ranges; and here many of the pioneers of Methodism in Cincinnati were interred. Burials were at first confined to members of the Church, and their families; privilege was afterwards granted to others to inter therein upon the payment of a small fee. For over twenty years this ground was used as a graveyard. Meanwhile Methodism grew from a class of eight to a membership of fifteen hundred. In 1812, when the earliest records were made, two hundred and nine persons were enrolled upon the Church books; in 1830 twelve hundred and fifty names were reported to Conference. After this date there were no further interments in the ground.

When the old stone house became too small to hold the congregations, an addition of brick was built in the rear. This being wider than the original, the shape of the enlarged house was that of a capital T. It was lighted at night with candles, and as the

doors and windows were small and the subject of ventilation was then little thought of, we may imagine how the preacher suffered and the audience became drowsy as the light grew dim and the air stifling.

The brick enlargement of the church was only a temporary make-shift, as it proved; and before the close of the third decade of Cincinnati Methodism the necessity of a new house of worship became apparent. For the better security of their property, and to save the trouble of new conveyances as the first trustees died, the society became incorporated; and Mr. Kirby granted to nine trustees as an incorporate body, and as successors of the original five, a new deed to the premises they were then occupying. This deed was dated June 29, 1821, reciting the former deeds in substance, and expressing the same trust as in the first deed. The new trustees were Oliver M. Spencer, Ezekiel Hall, William Lynes, William Disney, Benjamin Mason, Robert Richardson, Christo-

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pher Smith, John Wood, and John Tuttle—venerable and well-known names in our local Church history. Henceforth their successors were to be elected by a vote of the adult male members of the society. The Church still grew and prospered, and it was finally determined to pull down and build greater.

In digging for the foundations of the new edifice (now Wesley Chapel) it became necessary to take up the remains of some of the dead interred in the rear. The trustees gave notice that unless the relatives and friends of the dead came forward and removed the remains, together with the monuments over the graves, they would proceed to do so themselves. No objection seems at first to have been made, though the matter had been talked of for two or three years, when the old house was torn down and the digging was commenced. Suddenly at the suit of one or two of the parties interested, a provisional injunction was obtained against the trustees, and the work was suspended.

At the May term of the Supreme Court of Ohio for 1831 the case was argued before Judges Peter Hitchcock and John C. Wright. James S. Gazlay, Bellamy Storer, and Charles Fox were counsel for the complainants; Moses Brooks counsel for the defendants. It was contended that, inasmuch as the trustees had granted the use of the ground for interments, it was a dedication of the same to that object, and the easement thus permitted could not be avoided without the consent of the owners; that the complainants owned an easement, and so far had an interest in the perpetual use of the ground for burial. On the other hand it was argued that the complainants, not being members of the Methodist society, and not contributing anything towards the payment, had no interest in the ground at the time of its purchase in 1805; that they got no interest afterwards, because the deeds were recorded and expressed the particular trust to be for the purpose of erecting a meeting-house, and

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not for a burying-ground; that no act of the trustees or members in Cincinnati could amount to a dedication of the trust property to any other uses than those expressed in the deeds; and that if there were a dedication of the ground for burial purposes, the dedication must be to the public, and not to a part of the public; there can not be a partial dedication.

After a full and patient hearing of the case, in which the learned counsel on both sides exhibited a large share of legal acumen and ability, the Court dissolved the injunction. It says that the trustees had a legal and equitable right, under Kirby's deed of trust, to determine in good faith the necessity of erecting a new church or place of worship, its dimensions and site, having regard to the convenient enjoyment by the society of the lots for the purpose of the grant; that in order to execute the trust fairly they might so far interfere with the interments made on the lots as should be necessary to

lay the foundation of the new structure; and in executing their work they might disinter and decently remove the remains of any dead within such limits—forbearing, of course, any act that might shock the feelings of surviving friends or the public.

About this time the Methodists procured ground elsewhere for burial purposes. They first selected a parcel of land near the corner of Plum and Canal Streets, but this was given up on account of the subsequent location of the canal, and they purchased a tract of four acres on Catharine, now Court Street, west of Central Avenue, from Abijah W. Cutter. This tract in 1830 seemed a long way out, and was surrounded by cultivated fields, woods, and orchards. Along side of these grounds the Baptists and Roman Catholics selected strips of land for interments, as it was then customary for the various Churches to have burial places of their own. There were already small graveyards in connection with other Church buildings, the oldest of

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which was that of the Presbyterians, on the north side of Fourth street, between Main and Walnut. It was not until a later day that the public became interested in having a rural cemetery not under denominational control.

Many of the dead were now removed. In the old graveyard were first interred the parents of Oliver M. Spencer, whose residence was immediately north of the church, on Sixth Street. He owned all the ground between Broadway and Sycamore. On one side of his house was his garden; on the other he had fruits and flowers, with an ample lawn. His lot extended back to the old Wesley Chapel ground, and his family graves were close to the fence between the two. They were among the earliest that were there made.

The Sunday-school children sometimes wandered about in the churchyard before the hour for preaching, but they were too full of young life to indulge in any "Meditations

among the Tombs," as James Hervey did. And yet the monuments with their quaint shapes and their simple inscriptions would have furnished themes for the moralist if he had cared to use them. Here lay in dreamless sleep the bodies of parents and children, young men and maidens, ministers and laymen, with their names and dates carved on the headstones, and those of the nameless and unmarked dead, now forgotten and uncared for. When fifty years after this date the Wesley Chapel charge erected in the rear of the church a Sunday-school room above ground, on a level with the floor of the main audience-room, and other apartments for class and official meetings, some of the graves were covered by the new building, but none of the dead were removed. They yet lie there, beneath the tread of childish feet. The rest of the ground was smoothed off and made into an open court, the stones were buried beneath the surface, and the ground was leveled for the use of the young

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people who belonged to the congregation. Better would it be if it had been planted with trees and shrubbery, so as to make a little bit of greenery in the midst of high brick walls and fences. But the dead have no rights, and practical utility dominates over sentiment. Alas for our lack of reverence and solemnity in the presence of death! Alas that a spot where lie the dead should be made a ground for out-door sports!

How many bodies were buried in this little graveyard, and how many were removed to other grounds, it is impossible to state. We can mention a few, however, whose dust is yet there, mingling with its parent earth. The following are some of the names chiseled on the tombs left in the ground, which the writer well remembers to have seen in his younger years:

"Mrs. Dolly Camp, consort of Jesse Camp and daughter of William Butler, died February —, 1810, aged twenty-two years."

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This was one of the oldest graves in the ground.

"Rev. Solomon Langdon died October 8, 1816, aged thirty-nine years." Mr. Langdon had located two or three years prior to his death, on account of failing health, and family concerns. He was born in Massachusetts and began to preach in his twenty-second year. He came to Ohio in 1806. His funeral sermon was preached in the Stone Church to a large congregation by Oliver M. Spencer, from Isa. lv, 6. Mr. Spencer was a local preacher.

"Mrs. Kituel McCaine, wife of Rev. Alexander McCaine, died May, 17, 1815, in her forty-first year." Her husband was long an itinerant in the Methodist Episcopal Church, but became a leader in the Methodist Protestant movement, and was the author of several controversial books on the subject of episcopacy, and the mutual rights of the clergy and the people. The best known of these is his "History and Mystery of Meth-

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odist Episcopacy''—an invective against our Church polity and government, but as an argument ill-considered and unfair. It was in answer to this work that Bishop Emory wrote his "Defense of Our Fathers." Mr. McCaine died in Edgefield County, S. C., June 1, 1856, aged 84 years.

"Sacred to the Memory of Rev. Alexander Cummins. Died September 27, 1823, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. Born in Virginia; joined the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1807; commenced preaching in 1809; was traveling preacher fourteen years."

"Rev. Learner Blackman. Born in New Jersey in 1781; entered the traveling ministry in 1801; died in Cincinnati June 7, 1815." He had been on a visit to Ohio, and was on his return to his work in the South. He was about to cross the Ohio River in a ferry-boat, when his horses which he was holding by the bridles became frightened at the noise of the machinery, and in their confusion leaped into the water, dragging him

overboard with them. The current was swift, and before he could be rescued he was drowned.

"Henrietta A., daughter of William B. and Elizabeth Shalley, died November 29, 1821, aged twenty-five years."

"Edwin L. Page died August 21, 1826." His son Edwin, aged three years, died August 30th of the same year, and was buried in the same grave with his father.

"John Collins, son of John and Julia M. Whetstone, died August 21, 1820, aged three years." This was probably the first child of his parents, and the oldest brother of John L. Whetstone, whose widow Sarah M. Young Whetstone gave such a large portion of her estate to the "Old People's Home," on College Hill.

"Mrs. Hannah Hunt died February 18, 1819, aged forty-five years."

"William Langarl died August 1, 1822, aged eighteen years." It was probably his

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father who purchased the corner on Broadway, adjoining the church.

- "Samuel Dryden died January 13, 1827, aged seventeen years."
- "Benjamin Mull died March 25, 1827, aged forty-two years."
- "Sacred to the Memory of Robert P. Wraith, who was accidentally killed by the machinery on the steamboat *Scioto* January 29, A. D. 1825, in the thirty-third year of his age.

"In sincere friendship I this tribute raise To tell his fate and shortness of his days."

He probably died among strangers, and some friend had his remains decently buried, and erected a stone with this inscription at his grave.

Nearly all of these inscriptions here given were preceded with the words "In Memory of" or "Sacred to the Memory of," but we have omitted them, except in one or two instances.

Rev. Adbeel Coleman, James Wescoat, Abby Keeler, a native of Washington City, and a few others whose graves were marked by headstones, were here interred, but we can not now record their epitaphs. Their names are written in the Book of Life, and "when the roll is called up yonder," those who bore them will respond to them; and all who are unknown here will be known there. To that day all are hastening.

"Maranatha;—the Lord cometh."

XI

OLD COLLEGE DAYS

(OHIO WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY)

The term university as originally applied to an educational institution did not designate the range of subjects taught, which at first embraced only the trivium and quadrivium of the schoolmen, or grammar, logic, and rhetoric of the one faculty, and arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy of the other; but it denoted the whole body (universitas) of the students. In the large continental universities there were students from various principalities, speaking different languages or dialects—French, Italian, Spanish, German, etc.—and they naturally formed groups according to the States from which they came; and these collectively made the university. Now, we apply the term

not to the body of the students, but to the entirety of the studies. These are divided among five general departments-liberal arts, theology, law, medicine, and State's economy. Besides, there are subdivisions; but the general departments comprehend the various groups of colleges, each, perhaps, with its own faculty and board of administration. Thus the department of liberal arts comprises what are technically called the humanities, the natural sciences, mathematics, metaphysics, civics, mechanics and technology, and various other subjects. A few of these alone may constitute a university in the modern sense. Accordingly, many a country cross-roads academy styles itself a university and confers degrees. The true idea of a university, however, is rather the increase than the dissemination of knowledge. For many years the great universities have given instruction in only a few branches of learning, and have left all the others, together with law, medicine, and the-

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ology to be taught in institutions of their own.

The Ohio Wesleyan University, at Delaware, was first opened for pupils in the fall of 1844, though a preparatory school had been conducted by authority of the trustees for two years prior to this date. This was in charge of Solomon Howard, who paid his expenses from the fees charged for tuition. At that time the town was almost inaccessible except during the summer and early autumn months. There was a stage line from Columbus to Sandusky, but in winter the regular coaches were withdrawn, and canvas-covered wagons were substituted in their place. They were constructed, however, to carry passengers and their baggage, but they were cold and uncomfortable, especially in rainy weather, when the curtains had to be fastened down to keep the inside from getting wet. When the mud was deep the wheels often sank in the road-bed up to the hubs. The ruts too, in the track, were

uneven, the wagons tilting up on one side or the other alternately, and scarcely ever for more than one or two rods retaining a level position. They were in constant danger of overturning with their passengers and freight.

I well recall the first time that I traveled over this road. It was a rainy day in the winter of 1845-46 that we entered the coach at Columbus for Delaware. The trip was begun soon after breakfast, and it required the entire day to reach our destination, only twenty-four miles away. It was dark and dismal when the stage stopped at the old mansion house, as the university building was called, to deliver some of its occupants and their trunks. The rain fell incessantly, and there were no lights. The driver of the coach had a single lantern; but everything was finally adjusted; and so I spent my first night in Delaware. Most of the passengers were sore and tired from the continual lurching and the bump-

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ing they had experienced in the stage. The "turnpike," as it was called, was nothing but a bed of mire. Of this road one of my friends wrote (or quoted):

"The road was impassable— Not even jackassable; And all those who travel it Should turn out and gravel it."

The company which had secured a charter for the turnpike did some grading, and had thrown up a road-bed of clay, but they spread no metal—broken stones or gravel—upon it, yet they began to collect tolls for its use. Such was the indignation of the residents along the route at this imposition that they formed a mob, tore down all the toll-houses, destroyed the gates, and warned the keepers not to attempt to receive toll. The charter was soon after annulled, and the road became worse than ever.

At this date there were no paved streets in Delaware and but few brick or stone side-

walks. Indeed, there was so little traffic that the streets were not cut up into deep ruts, and so needed but little macadamizing to keep them comparatively smooth. But the roads leading out from the town into the country sometimes became almost impassable for wagons on account of the mud. There were no sidewalks constructed south of William Street; and every winter the students clubbed together and had spent tanbark hauled from the tanneries and spread all the way from the college doors as far up as to William Street. There were two tanyards where this material could be obtained—John Wolfley's, on Winter Street, near Henry, and James W. Lee's, on the northwest corner of Franklin and Griswold (now Central Avenue). This was a temporary expedient, of course, but it served to keep the feet out of the mire during the season.

There was a small brick market-house in the center of William Street, just west of

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Sandusky, where fresh meats were sold on stated days, but no fruits or vegetables, or scarcely none. These could be procured at the groceries; though very few perishable vegetables, such as lettuce, radishes, onionsprouts, etc., were exposed for sale anywhere. Housekeepers depended upon their own gardens for such truck as is mow commonly found at the green-grocer's. The meat market opened very early in the morning, and closed early; and the purchaser who wanted a choice cut of beef or pork (mutton was very rarely found) must needs go betimes to the butcher's stall, for otherwise he might not find what he wanted—some one else had been before him. It is the early bird that catches the worm.

A Cincinnati butcher once asked me what I thought about his opening a meat-shop in Delaware, and whether it would probably succeed. I told him I thought he would do well there; but he was fearful of undertaking the enterprise, and did not come. He

found that he would have to slaughter his own beasts, and could with difficulty procure ice in sufficient quantity to preserve his meats in warm weather. The large refrigerators were not then in use.

Delaware was only a country village in the midst of forests and open fields. All around it were farm lands, with orchards and cleared spots for tillage and pasture. In North Delaware were thickets of hazel bushes, where the boys and girls could gather nuts when the frosts fell in the autumn. West of town the extensive woods were a good place for hunting game, and the "Copperas Banks" on the south was a favorite spot for a picnic. Through the dell a little stream of clear water flowed, with a precipitous bank of shale on one side, and corn fields, woods, and pastures on the other. Here the wild hyacinth and other flowers grew in abundance. A short distance up this stream in the woods was a mill-dam and a saw-mill, operated in the winter and spring when there

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was a good flow of water. On Delaware Run, just west of Liberty Street, and not far from the present schoolhouse, there was also a mill-dam and a saw-mill, which did a good amount of business. This run sometimes developed into a large creek, and overflowed the low grounds of the college, submerging them almost to the sulphur spring.

There was very little manufacturing done in town, except to supply the local demands. The business dealers were able to supply the country precincts with all the groceries, dry goods, and hardware that were in demand. Most of them kept what are now known as department stores, though a few had only one line of commodities. Thus at the same shop one might purchase a hat or a codfish, a pattern of calico or a bushel of potatoes, a quire of paper or a ham of pork, a schoolbook or a jug of molasses. There was a woollen mill at the north end of the town, and a paper mill just below Delaware, at Stratford, where a fine quality of printing

or writing, wrapping and book paper, was manufactured. In process of time a foundry was established, and a factory for making envelopes, and later other factories.

The tanneries were constantly busy. Several hardware stores were located on Sandusky Avenue, and nearly all business was confined to that street. There were several boot and shoe shops, as many of tailors' shops, one wagon shop, and some iron smithies. There was at least one livery establishment, and two or three warehouses, furniture, and wood-working shops. Several teamsters were constantly employed in hauling merchandise from Columbus; for, until railroads were built, all transportation was done by wagons. Teams and vehicles could be hired at any time.

It was never the policy of the university to furnish rooms and common boarding for the pupils. Delaware was a country town, having no railroad facilities; and not much trade was attracted to the place. Of course,

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the farmers in the vicinity depended on the merchants of the town to buy their products, and to supply them with groceries and dry goods in exchange, and the staples of living were abundant and cheap. Students in the early days could procure boarding for \$1.50 or \$1.75 a week. This included everything at first, even washing; and there were many families that took in boarders to add to their income. There were rooms in the old college building—Elliott Hall—and in the Annex, a two-story structure attached to it on the south, which furnished accommodations for a few of the students; and here a steward, with his family, was employed to supply them boarding. This arrangement continued for two or three years.

There was also a row of cottages, facing north, nearly in front of where Sturges Hall now stands, with eight or ten rooms; and here a few of the students boarded themselves. Some of them lived on less than forty cents a week. Fuel was not over \$2 a cord;

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eggs could be procured at five cents a dozen; butter was not worth more than ten cents a pound, and bakeries furnished bread and rolls at moderate prices. When fruit was in season, pears could be bought at ten cents a peck; apples at fifteen cents a bushel, and peaches at twelve or thirteen cents a large basketful. Cured meats were sold at, perhaps, six cents a pound; cornmeal was to be had at a few cents a peck, and milk at five cents a quart. Most of the young men who boarded themselves were from the country, where they had learned something of domestic work, and were thus handy in preparing their frugal meals.

Below the spring was a large bath-house, with zinc bathing tubs, which were intended for and could be filled with sulphur water. There was also a log hut on Henry Street, facing east, and directly east of the college building, afterward occupied by the colored janitor. On the southeast was a small cottage of two large rooms that had been used

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for billiards and card-playing when the place was a health resort. This cottage was afterward rented and occupied by Mrs. Maria Webb and her family of two sons and a daughter, who came from Chillicothe to Delaware on account of its educational advantages. To adapt it to her needs, she added to it a board kitchen and shed, and divided one of the rooms with a partition, so as to form a separate bed chamber and a diningroom.

Between this cottage and the college building there was an ice-house and milk cellar, constructed underground. It was directly south of the present Merrick Hall. It was dug into the bank facing north, and was made of logs and stone, and sodded over.

In the rear of the college building were two long porches, one on the ground floor, where the boys had a rope swing, and one on the second, without a roof over it, but constructed like a balcony, and protected with a balustrade. The building was lathed

on the outside and plastered, making it thus resemble stone or concrete, and painted of a light terra-cotta color. In this building were the recitation-rooms, and the private rooms of the professors. The chapel was on the ground floor—formerly the dining-room of the establishment. Here the school was opened and closed every day with religious exercises—Scripture reading, singing, and prayer—at which all of the students were required to be present. There was ample room to contain them all, for the number did not exceed one hundred and twenty-five persons.

Every Sunday afternoon a lecture was delivered by the president or one of the professors, and sometimes by a visiting clergyman. On one occasion a minister was invited to lecture for the students, and in his opening prayer he said: "O God, our Father, help Thy servant this day to address these young men here assembled; give him right words and right thoughts. Direct him in the

choice of a text from which to speak. Let him so perceive the truths of Thy gospel, and so declare Thy word, that he may profit those who hear." And then, on rising to preach, he pulled out a manuscript from his breast pocket, and read from it every word that he spoke!

At a convocation of the clergy, where one of them, who had been appointed the year previously to deliver the annual address, read his sermon, as the ministers present were passing out of the audience-room, one of them said to another:

- "How did you like the discourse?"
- "Well," responded the person addressed, "with the help of God, I believe I could have preached as good a sermon as that myself."
- "God or no God," rejoined the first, "I know I could."

Our lecturer probably was somewhat of the same opinion. He answered his own prayer by depending on himself—and his manuscript.

As the students were scattered over the whole town, and the sound of the college bell could be heard only a short distance away, every one was compelled to have a watch of his own, or to depend upon that of his roommate, or the clock at his boarding place. To keep the time correct, the courthouse bell was rung every evening at nine o'clock. This time was furnished to the ringer, I believe, by the leading jeweler and watchmaker, Raymond Burr, afterwards the mayor of Delaware, and an officer in the army during the Civil War. As he had no transit instrument he depended on his standard chronometer, which varied but little in the year, if at all, from the exact time. So every one who carried a watch could regulate its movement by the courthouse bell. Students going to chapel or their recitations were generally on time, or were late only one or two minutes. Every railroad station now is furnished daily with the precise time by telegraphic signal from the central office. The government observa-

tory determines it with exactness, and exhibits it every day at 12 o'clock, noon.

Many of the students were from country farms, and the race of the soil still clung to them. But they made good use of their opportunities and learned fast. Some of them became better scholars than those who were trained in the city schools. One of them came into the room of the professor of languages, when I was present, soon after the opening of the session, to make some inquiries about his studies. Seeing two cases well filled with books, he remarked, "Why, Professor, you have a very large library, if this case and that case both belong to you," pointing to them. The professor nodded assent. Just then Professor McCabe entered. and after the ordinary greetings and a few casual remarks, inquired, "Have you any new books?" The professor showed him some that were lying on the table, among them a copy of "Gil Blas," at the same time saying, "Here is a very fine novel."

"Novel, is it?" inquired the student.

"Yes," answered the professor; "it is a description of Spanish life and character under the supposed adventures of a Spanish don;" and seeing a look of bewilderment on the student's face, added—"a Spanish gentleman."

"Well, the hardest novel I ever read," said the student, "is Locke's 'Essay on the Human Understanding; and there 's another novel by ah—ah—what d'ye call 'im? about—O, ah—ah—" The author's name and the title of his book he could not recall.

Most of the students who first entered were young men who came to the university, not boys who were sent. While the number was not large, it still shows that the Church had need of such an institution for its own youth. But the wonder is, not that there were then so few, but so many. I still remember the names and faces of many of the first students, both of those in the regular

college classes and those in the other departments. Though comparatively few, however, then, and many now,

"Non, mihi si linguæ centum sint oraque centum,

Omnia virorum percurrere nomina possim."

Some of the young men who first entered college as students had been licensed to preach, and came to prepare themselves more fully for the work of the ministry. It was left to them largely to lead the Saturday evening prayer-meetings of the students, and several of them occasionally went out into the country to fill an appointment to preach. In winter they would go Saturday evening and remain over night with some friend near the place where they were to officiate. In the summer and autumn days it was easy to walk on Sunday mornings three or four miles for this purpose; and after morning preaching they always remained for dinner with some family residing in the vicinity. I re-

member one home where these student preachers always liked to stay—there were several girls in the household.

Speaking of girls reminds me of a talk that the venerable Nathan Emery of the Ohio Conference made to the students one day at chapel. "Young men," said he, "beware of the girls. Your business here is to pay attention to your studies, not to the ladies. There are two classes of girls that you especially ought to avoid—the flirts and the coquettes. A flirt is a girl whose heart is too big for her head; a coquette is one whose head is too big for her heart. Both are equally dangerous." And President Thomson supplemented this advice with the example of Dr. John P. Durbin, who, when he first entered the ministry, adopted the rule laid down by Job: "I made a covenant with mine eyes; why then should I think upon a maid?" Nevertheless the attractions of the Delaware girls proved irresistible to the young men. Many of them found their wives

here. It was among the Delaware girls that I found my own wife.*

The only holiday of the week was Saturday afternoon. All the students were required to attend morning prayer at the chapel on Saturdays, where talks were sometimes made about college life and habits, after which the classes were drilled in dec-

"Quasi pila In choro ludens datatim dat se et communem facit; Alii adnutat, alii adnictat, alium amat, alium tenet, Alibi manus est occupata, alii percellit pedem; Annulum alii dat spectandum, a labris alium invocat;

Alii cantat, attamen alii suo dat digito literas."

And Horace's picture of a flirt is even more poetic. It is the Fifth Ode of Book i, "To Pyrrha," so admirably versed by Milton in the meter of the original:

"What slender youth bedewed with liquid odors Courts thee on roses in some pleasant cave, Pyrrha? For whom bind'st thou In wreaths thy golden hair,

No wonder the old veteran uttered his warnings against such creatures. The difference is that the coquette bestows her favors upon many; the flirt lavishes them on one—for a while. If the Hebrew sage were living in these days, he would find more wonderful than "the way of a man with a maid," the way of a maid with a man!

^{*}The Roman poet Naevius in one of his comedies gives this description of a coquette. It will fit modern times and New World manners. The Latin is quaint and archaic:

[&]quot;Plain in thy neatness?" etc.

lamation, composition, and rhetoric. Reading was not then taught, unless incidentally—a more important matter than declamation. All Americans have naturally "the gift of gab." There are more good speakers than good readers. In fact, few of the faculty could read well, though all of them were fluent enough in speaking. President Thomson and Professor Harris were the best readers.

The class to which I belonged studied Kames's "Elements of Criticism"—a stupid book—but I think we learned more of belleslettres from our instructor than from that treatise. President Thomson was a master of style. Though not an orator in the technical sense, he was a model speaker. He knew the art of emphasis—which Professor Merrick did not—and he understood the proper cadence of his sentences. The charm of his eloquence was its rhythm and the melody of his voice as well as the elevation of his thoughts.

The older students engaged in very few athletic sports. The country around Delaware was then largely forest land—oak and beech woods—with some clearings for tillage; and there were in their season fruits and nuts, which parties of young people sometimes went out to gather or purchase. Some of the students owned guns for hunting; and rabbits and squirrels abounded in the woods and the thickets. I once found a porcupine on the college grounds, and even saw opossums. Saturday afternoons were often spent by them in the pursuit of game. When Dr. Charles Elliott sent his son Robert to college in Delaware, James B. Finley, an old associate and friend of the Doctor, gave him a rifle. Mr. Finley in his earlier years had been fond of the chase, and he often went on hunting and trapping expeditions. He naturally supposed that Robert would himself delight in such sports. He took the pains to write to him a letter about the proper care of his gun, and told him always to rub

it with deer's fat after using it. Then, reflecting that it might be difficult or impossible to shoot deer around Delaware, he suggested bear's oil (it was then often sold in the drugstores as a dressing for the hair), or beef's tallow. Sweet oil, he said, must not be used at all, nor hog's lard. Young Elliott sometimes shot a rabbit or squirrel; but he got no deer, bears, foxes, or wolves!

The favorite recreation, apart from hunting, was social or solitary rambling

"O'er hills, through valleys and by river's brink,"—

sometimes in search of plants for our botany recitations, sometimes for minerals to illustrate geology, but more often for, simply, exercise. A few of the students, however, used to play cricket. We had no football—there was no good field in which to kick the pigskin—and baseball was not then in vogue. Cricket is a manly sport, and requires some skill, as well as muscular

strength, agility, and alertness, both on the part of him who bowls the sphere afield and of him who defends the wicket. But even for this we had little leisure, as our studies were hard and the recitations exacting. We always had, until our Senior year, four or five every day.

It was a relief from our studies, upon occasion, to get permission from the president to be absent from Friday evening and Saturday morning exercises, and to make an excursion to the Scioto River to fish, and for other sport. In such cases our party camped out over Friday night. We had no tent or cover, except a sheet or blanket which we carried with us, and we slept on the dried leaves in the forest; as on these jaunts we went only when the weather was dry and warm. The walk was not over eight miles, and we thought nothing of that. We took what provisions were needed for two or three meals, which we supplemented with what fish we caught, broiled on coals of the fire

that we kindled. If there was a surplus from our catch, we brought it home with us. This was a return to primitive conditions of life, and a pleasant episode in the monotony of school routine. But these were not the only expeditions in which we engaged.

In the hot days of summer it was pleasant to indulge in a swim in the Olentangy. The best place was where the railroad bridge crosses the stream just below the old graveyard. It was perfectly secluded for the purpose, for it could scarcely be seen from the covered bridge at William Street, and the banks were screened with trees and undergrowth on both sides. Along the east side of the river were tilled fields, the fence corners overgrown with blackberry and hawthorn bushes, and very few persons passed either in wagons or on foot up and down the road between the town and the "Copperas Banks." Nor was the river visible at this point from the farm houses in the vicinity. And here the water was deep enough to make

a good "swimming hole." Some of the boys who boarded or resided in the north end of town went to the mill pond in North Delaware for a swim in the water, or for a skiff ride on its surface; but this spot was more exposed to view than the other, except at its upper end towards the river ford and the little brick schoolhouse near it.

The Junior exhibitions were held at the close of the winter term, just preceding the spring vacation. All the pupils of the Junior college classes were participants. If the number was too great for one evening's exercises, two evenings were spent. The music was furnished by a brass band from Columbus, their expenses being paid by the students taking part in the exhibition. We had Latin and Greek orations, discussions of some question or historical character, speeches, essays, and dialogs. On one occasion a pupil who was on the program for an address could not be found. His heart failed him at the last moment, and he escaped from

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the room before his name was announced. When the president called it, he did not put in an appearance. After waiting a few minutes for him to come on the stage, the next item on the program was called for. As it happened to be music, the band, with a sudden inspiration, played "The Rogue's March."

At one of these exhibitions, held in the basement of the new William Street Methodist Church, the room was poorly lighted, especially the front platform. Now a preparatory student, who had his room in the Annex of the Mansion House, was the fortunate possessor of a large lard-oil lamp with a circular wick and globular glass shade. Most of the students at college studied their lessons at night by the light of a tallow candle only. A few burned lard oil. When the exercises of the exhibition were about to begin, it was suggested to the owner of the lamp to lend it for the occasion to light the stage, and he immediately went back to his

room to fetch it. He carried it safely until just as he reached the front of the church, when by some mishap he stumbled with the lamp in his hands. It was dashed to the pavement and shivered into fragments. But the friends of the owner, pitying his misfortune, contributed the amount—three or four dollars—to make good the loss, so that he could purchase a new one before the opening of the next term at college.

Though the class distinctions were observed in the enrollment of the students and in seating them in chapel, not so much distinction was observed in the recitations. The classes were at first very small in numbers, and pupils of various grades often recited together. Thus with my own class, Sophomores, Juniors, and Seniors at times took the same studies and recited together from the same text-books. So, in intermingling with each other, pupils of the higher and the lower grades were constant companions, and in the literary societies membership was not

confined to the college classes. Preparatory students were just as welcome as any others. In their debates and literary exercises, students of all grades joined together. Class spirit and class rivalry were at a minimum, and the warmest friendships were cultivated between members of the highest and the lowest classes.

The text-books which were used in school in the earlier days of the institution were often poorly printed, and more often poorly edited or compiled. Some of them were not up to date either in scholarship or information. Thus in one of our Latin books the editorial notes were mostly on the passages that needed no comment, while many of the difficult ones were left unexplained. For instance, the editor thought it necessary to explain for students of the higher grade that "vestitus montium" signifies the trees and shrubbery that grow upon them. What primary school boy or girl that ever saw a field covered with corn or a meadow with grass,

or a hillside shaded with trees, would need to be told what the "clothing of the mountains" means? They would not certainly suppose it to mean a covering of snow—even if snow-clad summits were in sight.

The first Latin dictionary of our school days was Ainsworth's (or Leverett's), and the first Greek lexicon was Grove's (or Donnegan's)—both of them unsatisfactory. In preparing a Latin oration for the Junior exhibitions, or for a graduating address at Commencement, the appointed student had the English-Latin section of his dictionary to refer to; but for a Greek oration there was no English-Greek vocabulary in any of his lexicons. Schrevelius's Lexicon contains a Latin-Greek section. If the pupil was not familiar enough with the Greek words he needed, he was compelled to convert his English first into Latin, and then find the Greek equivalent by referring to Schrevelius. This, of course, required double work. But not a single student owned a Schrevelius.

Fortunately a member of the faculty possessed a copy, and it was therefore for such a purpose in demand. And the professor was glad to lend it in the emergency to the student who was in need of its help. After this double work was accomplished, the dictionaries had again to be consulted for the proper usage of the words, and the grammars for the right inflections. But, withal, our modern Ciceros must have written a good deal of "dog Latin" and our modern imitators of Demosthenes a large amount of worse Greek.

The university had no library; but as the agents went around to collect funds or to sell scholarships, they picked up a few books, none of them very valuable, which were sent to the college. These were placed on shelves in one of the upper rooms of the old mansion building, or Elliott Hall, but scarcely one of them was ever read or consulted by any of the professors or the students. One of the volumes—I do n't know the author nor the

subject—had been obtained through the solicitation of Bishop Hamline, one of the early trustees, in which he recorded the fact that it was presented to the university "through the munificence" of So-and-so, and signed his own name thereto. I had always supposed that "munificence" was applied only to a gift of something costly or rare, not to a donation of one or two dollars' worth!

When President Thomson went abroad to purchase volumes for the university library on Sturges's foundation, he desired the members of the faculty to furnish him lists of books which they would like to have for study or consultation in their own departments. Only a few, however, were suggested; but large discretion was given him to buy for the purpose the best in the market, and from the publishers themselves, so far as possible, rather than from the dealers. By getting them thus at first hand a large saving in prices would be effected. London

and Paris were then the chief centers of the book world for English readers, though perhaps for the continent Leipsic was superior to both, as it certainly is now. The bulk of the collection as purchased came from these cities. The French took the lead in mathematics, and most of the works which he procured in that science are in French. Literature was not well represented, neither were history and biography. Geography or travel was more complete. For a school boy, the most interesting of the leading books in these departments may be sufficient; but school boys grow into manhood, and if their knowledge of history and literature is limited to what is gained from one or two books, they are apt to have narrow views of men and of nations. The seminary method was then unknown. To supplement the history of the world, Bayle's great Historical Dictionary is most valuable; but as Bayle was freethinker and a philosopher it was thought that an immature mind, in perus-

ing his pages, might become tinctured with his skepticism. So the original French edition was purchased, as none but the professors of history and general literature would probably be able to read it, or wish to consult it. They would be out of danger since they were well established in the faith. There is, however, an English translation of Bayle now in the library, in five great folio volumes. But I doubt whether one student in fifty ever wishes to look into it; and that one student is far enough advanced in his studies and his religion to think for himself. He, at least, will receive no taint, and will not swear in the words of such a master as even Bayle. The French edition has probably never been opened since it was purchased.

The rooms in the old building where the professors had their private apartments, and the halls where the recitations were held, were all heated with wood stoves, and, of course, a large quantity of wood ashes ac-

cumulated during the winter months. These ashes were dumped in a pile in the rear of the building, and when spring came some one was employed to remove them. On one occasion a teamster who desired them for his own use offered to buy and haul them away. Accordingly he came to the college building and asked where he could find Mr. Thomson. On being shown the president's office, he went to it, and was about to enter without knocking. Finding the door locked— Dr. Thomson always kept his door fastened when he was not hearing recitations—it occurred to the teamster to knock. This he did, using the toe of his boot against the bottom panel. Upon the door's being opened, he was considerably startled when he saw the president, and stammered out, "Are you the boss of this here concern?"

There was only one newspaper printed in Delaware when the university was opened—the *Olentangy Gazette* (now the *Delaware Gazette*). It was Whig in politics, and was

Thomson, who was not only editor, but compositor, pressman, and clerk. His office was in the north end of the building, a frame structure, in front of the courthouse on Sandusky Avenue, where the county offices were located. It was not long until George F. Stayman, a competent printer, established a Democratic paper, called *The Loco Foco*. Its successor is the present Democratic paper, the *Standard*. It was radical in its tone, and perhaps livelier than the *Gazette*. Like Thomson, the proprietor was his own printer and factorum; though both of them employed in their offices additional compositors.

A unique personage in the early history of the university was the colored janitor, George Madison—I am not sure of his last name—who resided in the little log hut fronting on Henry Street, just east of the college building. It was his business to sweep the halls, make the fires, carry out the ashes, and ring the bell for the morn-

ing and evening prayers and for recitations. The only bell then owned by the institution was the large dinner bell formerly used in the Mansion House when it was a watering establishment. It was purchased by the trustees along with the other furniture of the building when they took possession. Old George used to stand on the coping of the front steps and ring his bell; and if he saw any of the students still on their way to college, especially if they were his favorites, he kept jingling the instrument until they reached the chapel door, as he knew the services would not commence until he stopped. George used sometimes to make speeches, and in his way he was quite eloquent. He had a good discrimination of character and knew among all the students who were his friends. The names of nearly all of them he could call.

The bell he jingled so merrily was after a while superseded by a clear-toned church bell which Dr. Merrick purchased in Cin-

cinnati for \$100 and presented to the university. It was mounted on the roof of the Elliott Hall, and a student who had his room in the building was employed to ring it. Its sound went out over the whole town, and it could be heard far beyond its limits.

About the year 1847 there drifted into town a harmless lunatic by the name of Daniel Crane. He came from Seneca County, New York. He was well educated, fluent of speech, fond of conversing with the students and of making addresses when he could gather a group to hear him. His talks were mostly on religious subjects, and he was an adept in quoting from the Scriptures. His texts were pertinent and well chosen. He sometimes indulged in poetry, and wrote several pieces of considerable merit. Some of these he had printed as broadsides and sold for five (or ten) cents a copy. One of them was on the "Hinton House," then erecting on the southeast corner of Sandusky Avenue and Winter Street. Another

was on the "Sulphur Spring." I call to mind only a single stave of the latter, running something like this:

"All nations your afflicted bring,
Take sprightly beasts, or logy,
And drink the waters of this spring;—
It 's good as Saratoga."

Of the builder of the hotel, George Cadwallader, whom he considered a genius in architecture, he wrote:

"Cadwallader's gigantic mind
We'll stamp on golden pages,
That millions yet unborn may find,
And read in future ages."

How Crane supported himself, and what became of him eventually, I never knew. He crossed the pathway of our life as "ships that pass in the night."

As already stated, the students were required to attend the religious services at the opening and closing of the school exer-

cises every day, and the roll of the students was called each time to mark their attendance or absence. During prayer nearly all of them were accustomed to kneel. It was also required of them to attend Church services on Sunday morning and the college lecture Sunday afternoon; and when the roll was called on Monday morning they were to answer "Yes" if they were present at both; "No" if they were absent; and "Once" if they were at only one. As this process of calling the roll twice every day consumed a great deal of time, especially when the number of students became large, a new system for marking attendance and absence was devised. Monitors were appointed at the opening of each term to note in a pocket roll-book given to them those who were present or absent each time. The number of names in each book was from twelve to eighteen; and as the students were seated alphabetically according to their classes, this was an easy task. But the roll was called

each Monday morning, as usual, by the officer of the faculty in whose charge it was.

Some of the students resided in the country, or boarded at very long distances from the college, and it was difficult, sometimes next to impossible, for them, especially during the winter term, to attend the chapel services in the morning, or wait for the closing prayer in the evening. Accordingly they were excused by the president from attendance when so desired. The members of the faculty were expected to be always present, the president conducting the services in the morning, and the others, in turn, in the evening. One morning Professor Harris was detained at home until late, and on his way to college overtook a student who was also on the way. "Why are you not at chapel this morning?" asked the professor. The student, who had been excused from attendance, replied, "I don't take prayers this session."

Repeated absence from chapel services or

from church subjected the offender to discipline, unless he could render a sufficient reason for non-attendance. When a certain number of absences were recorded against a student he was reported to the faculty; and the president, on calling him to account, might either reprove or excuse him, as the case demanded. The morals of the students were jealously guarded.

Of the literary societies and the Greek letter fraternities—there was only one in my time, the Phi Nu Theta—of their personnel, and their exercises, much might be said, as also of the students' prayer-meetings every Saturday night, their Missionary Lyceum, and the religious spirit which pervaded the entire body, both of the faculty and the pupils. Then, as now, not a winter passed by without a revival. Many here gave themselves up to a new life. To many here came the call of the Divine Spirit to preach the gospel. Many here have had their intellects awakened to grasp after and

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to seek new knowledge. Has the university fulfilled the expectations of its founders? Ask the hundreds who have here become acquainted with God and have proved what is His good and acceptable and perfect will. Ask the multitudes in Church and State, in professional life or in private business, who have occupied or are occupying places of honor and of usefulness, and you will have your answer!

XII

FIRST FACULTY OF THE OHIO WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

So MANY memorial notices and character sketches of the members of the early faculty in the Ohio Weslevan University have been published—some of them recently—it may seem presumptuous in me to add anything further. But no two persons view an object in the same light, or at the same angle, and I may be pardoned if I give some of my personal impressions of them. I shall at least "nothing extenuate nor set down aught in malice." There are few characters that can sit in "the fierce light that beats upon a throne" and not exhibit some weaknesses or defect. Happy is he who can endure so much observation and scrutiny as did our

early teachers and disclose so few blemishes in their lives. They are men of whom their pupils are proud. To know them was itself a liberal education.

The first faculty was elected in 1844. It consisted of Edward Thomson, president and professor of the moral sciences and belleslettres (though he did not take his seat until two years subsequently); Herman M. Johnson, professor of ancient languages and literature; Solomon Howard, professor of mathematics; William G. Williams, principal of the preparatory department, and Enoch G. Dial, assistant. The institution was formally opened in the fall of that year (November 13th), with only twenty-nine pupils and three of the teachers present. Professor Johnson did not reach Delaware until after the Christmas holidays, and Professor Merrick was not elected professor of the natural sciences until 1845. He began his work as teacher at the beginning of the college year, 1845-46.

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President Thomson did not enter upon the active duties of his office until the spring term of 1846. He was inducted into the presidency at the Commencement in the summer of that year, when both he and Professor Johnson delivered inaugural addresses. He was making a good record for himself as editor of the Ladies' Repository, and receiving a good salary; but he abandoned this position at what he conceived to be the call of duty, and came to Delaware to guide the nascent enterprise, on the promise of only \$800 a year. The professors were paid, or to be paid, \$600. Knowing how important it is to set a good example before the young men of the college, he gave up the use of cigars, in which he was accustomed to indulge while editor, and no one ever saw him smoking tobacco after his removal to Delaware. Most of the Methodist ministers in those days used "the weed," and it was not esteemed unclerical or unseemly.

Dr. Thomson was essentially a teacher,

whether in the classroom or in the pulpit. He had been principal of Norwalk Seminary, where he remained six years, until his election as editor, and he knew how to teach. His instructions were direct and simple, and his explanations clear. In his endeavor to be concise he did not become by his brevity obscure, like Horace—

Brevis esse laboro, Obscurus fio;

and no one needed to ask him twice for an answer to a question. He showed in himself the difference between a mere schoolmaster and a teacher.

He was a rapid and accurate writer, and almost the only corrections he ever made in his manuscripts were erasure. He was accustomed to write all the lectures which he delivered before the students, and them perhaps at a single sitting. He used to say that he could think better with a pen in his hand. But in the pulpit he seldom read his

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sermons. They were thoroughly prepared beforehand, and he knew what he wanted to say. One continuous line of thought ran through every discourse, and there were no broken or disjointed paragraphs. A phonographic report would need no editing. He never talked about and about a subject or multiplied words to fill out time, but directly and to the point. His style was lucid and picturesque. Though he seldom indulged in flights of fancy, he dwelt in the loftier realms of reflection, where all is beautiful and true and good.

President Thomson was often amused with what is comical, and was fond of humor in his familiar conversation with others. He appreciated in literature, and often scattered, grains of Attic salt in his discourses and his writings. He never used a pun, or a mere play upon words—that is the lowest kind of wit—though he might condone its use in others. But he had a keen sense of the ludicrous, as a single incident will show. Sher-

man Finch was one of the leading lawyers in town, and on one occasion his wife employed a raw girl from the country. When the dinner table was to be set, Mrs. Finch told her how many plates were needed; but when she went to see how the girl had arranged the dishes on the table she found there an extra plate.

"Why, Katy," said she, "I told you only four plates were needed for the family."

"Yes, ma'am," replied the girl, "but I put on one for myself."

"But, Katy, Mr. Finch does not like to have his servants eat at the same table with himself."

"You tell Mr. Finch," rejoined the girl, perhaps nettled at being called a servant, "you tell Mr. Finch he may"—— closing her answer with a low and vulgar phrase indicative of her contempt of social snobbery and her sense of personal independence.

When Mr. Finch returned home from his office in the evening, his wife informed him

of what the girl said; and as he always enjoyed a joke, the next morning when he went down street to his office and met a group of his friends, among them Professor Harris, he told the story. At the next meeting of the faculty Professor Harris repeated it. Dr. Thomson leaned back in his chair and laughed heartily. "Well," said he, "it was a coarse expression, but a sublime sentiment."

Most of the lectures delivered before the students were preached by the president, though occasionally other members of the faculty officiated. He had an inexhaustible fertility of thought, and poured forth from the treasures of a full mind things both old and new. He was not a profound scholar, but his information was varied and extensive. He was fond of abstruse subjects, but his lectures were easily "understanded of the people." They were charming for their style, which was rich and fluent, and no one could hear them without satisfaction and

profit. President Thomson's sermons and lectures were thoughtful, Professor Merrick's serious and didactic, McCabe's hortatory, and Johnson's critical. Dr. Thomson was calm in his delivery, Merrick earnest, McCabe impulsive, and Johnson quiet and unimpassioned. Thomson taught the love of God; Merrick, law; McCabe, grace; and Johnson, knowledge. Professor Williams had not at that time entered the ministry, and Professor Harris too soon removed from Delaware, to take the pastoral oversight of a congregation.

Frederick Merrick was professor of the natural sciences. His laboratory and recitation-room was the old kitchen of the Mansion House, in the southeast corner of the basement floor, opposite the chapel. In this department he was an expert instructor. He was ready and familiar with the subjects which he taught, and illustrated his lectures on them with experiments. His assortment of apparatus and material was imperfect and

incomplete, but such as he was able to procure with the funds at his disposal, and he was not always entirely successful in his experiments. But they were "sufficient to show," as he used to say. At any rate, his pupils got a fair understanding of the methods and results of his work in chemistry and natural philosophy.

Geology was sometimes illustrated by an examination of the country around Delaware, and especially its mineral productions. We had no text-book on mineralogy, and the professor supplied the lack with oral instruction. He had a few specimens of minerals, with ores and metals, in the cabinet, and the students learned to differentiate them by personal inspection. I took notes of his lectures on mineralogy and wrote them out in a blank book after the lessons were over. This manuscript volume I think I still have somewhere among my papers. One of the most surprising statements which he made was that one of our familiar gases is a min-

eral. We had always thought that every mineral is as solid as a rock—like the everlasting hills which stood around us, and upon which we rested our gaze. But we then learned that

"There are more things in heaven and earth . . . Than were dreamed of in our philosophy."

I remember that the professor, in one of our recitations in chemistry, put the question to me, whether carbonic acid gas had ever been solidified. I thought the text-book said it had; for in my haste, while reviewing the lesson, I overlooked the important word "not," and read as an affirmative what was really a negative. So I answered confidently that it had been. Now this was actually the fact, though neither our text-book on Chemistry nor our professor was aware of it. My answer anticipated the age when it became generally known. I did not realize that it was to American chemists a prophecy rather

than a reality. That recitation was counted to me by the professor as a failure; my credit was zero. The college authorities ought to go back and mark me 100; not for what was then, but for what is now, well known, and which I had unwittingly anticipated.

Until Dr. Thomson in 1846 assumed the presidency, Professor Merrick after taking his seat as one of the faculty was placed in charge. In addition to the classes in his own department, he had some of the classes in metaphysics—logic, evidences of Christianity, rhetoric, etc. But I have always thought that he showed more aptitude and enthusiasm in the physical sciences than in the intellectual and moral; at least this was the case during my period as a pupil. As an instructor he was familiar with the former, not so much so with the latter. He could not elucidate the obscurities of metaphysics with experiments, nor explain them so readily as he did those of physics. There are charms in both the natural and the abstract

sciences; the one requires physical research and experiment, and will be satisfied with nothing less than demonstration; the other requires imagination, and will accept probabilities where there are no certainties. Professor Merrick had no imagination. Facts and truths were with him the basis of his faith. He did, indeed, adopt hypotheses, but only where there was nothing else to account for phenomena.

He held his theological views as a saint, and not as a thinker. It would have been impossible for him to write a theology; he could exemplify it in his life. Practical divinity was more to him than all Watson's "Institutes" and Wesley's doctrinal "Sermons." He made the Bible his canon of living, and he learned to interpret it by itself and experience rather than by human glosses. But he did not despise the helps of history and criticism. He made use of both.

When the degree of Doctor of Divinity

was conferred upon him, he refused to accept it, as being opposed to the Lord's command, "Be not ye called Rabbi." And afterwards, from the same religious scruples, he declined to receive the honorary title of Doctor of Laws. But when he was elected professor of Chemistry in the Starling Medical College of Columbus, and the degree of Doctor of Medicine was given to him by that institution, he was compelled to allow it; for, though he was not a physician, and did not practice the healing art, he was a teacher of one branch of the medical science, that of chemistry. We shall not, therefore, be at fault if, in referring to him, we name him Doctor Merrick. But among his brethren in the ministry he wanted to be known as par inter pares, rather than primus which he really was.

After all, an honorary title is the toy of scholarship, though it may be the coveted prize of sciolism. The most worthy of it regard it the least. Samuel Hanson Cox de-

spised the "semi-lunar fardels," as he called the title of D. D., and Albert Barnes and Henry Ward Beecher are better known without them. If "the grand old name of gentleman" is borne without reproach, it is as high a title as any literary, professional, or ecclesiastical one. But a degree earned by a student in college is a token of merit. It shows that he has completed his course of instruction, and by dint of faithful work has pushed his way through. It is right that he should receive and wear the honors of his Alma Mater.

Dr. Merrick had a deep interest in the religious condition of the university and the town. There were many unchurched people in the place, and especially on the east side of the river. After the railroad line from Columbus to Cleveland was laid out and work on it was begun, a large number of employees resided in East Delaware, and both they and their children were living or growing up little better than heathens.

Many of them, however, were Roman Catholics. With a view of carrying the gospel to such persons, he ventured on the experiment of out-door preaching. Accordingly, accompanied by a few friends, he took his station one Sunday afternoon in summer on the south side of the old railroad dépôt, on the broad platform built for the accommodation of passengers and freight. This was near the center of the population he wanted to reach. He gave out the hymn

"Hail to the Sabbath day."

A small crowd was attracted by the singing, and when it was finished he offered prayer. He then preached a brief sermon on the observance of the Lord's day, and the need of salvation. These exercises, thus inaugurated, were the beginning of Church work in that part of the town, which has since eventuated in the erection of Church buildings and the establishment of Sunday-schools and preaching in East Delaware.

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In like manner Dr. Merrick introduced religious services into the outskirts of southwest Delaware. A Sunday-school was organized for the scattered children, and when the congregations for preaching became large, a neat building was erected for their accommodation. This was constructed largely through the efforts of the Doctor, who paid towards its erection and named it "Faith Chapel." It is now a regular appointment in the Ohio Conference.

The college grounds were just as nature made them when the buildings were put up. No grading had been done except, perhaps, enough to construct the carriage drives and the foot paths, and there were very few shade trees in the front. To remedy the naked aspect of the premises, Dr. Merrick interested the students in planting young saplings from the forest on the spots which he marked, and many of the trees which afterwards bordered the walks or ornamented the front yard were set out by them under his

direction. I think he had procured them to be dug up at his own cost from the wild woods and copses around Delaware. There were many thickets of undergrowth along the main road between the town and Stratford. He also had a flagstone pavement laid about the spring, where nothing but gravel and mud had been.

Dr. Merrick wrote but little, comparatively, for the magazines and other journals of the Church. The only volume he gave to the public was a small work on "Formalism."

Solomon Howard, professor of mathematics when the institution was first opened, remained only one year. His reputation as an instructor was made elsewhere. As president of the Ohio University, at Athens, he won success, and approved himself to the Church as an earnest, devoted, and capable teacher. He was somewhat hasty in his temper, but never unjust, and he knew how to manage students. His address was pleas-

ing, his speech fluent, his sermons thoughtful, and his general scholarship good. He did not confine himself to the study of sines and tangents, of angles and curves, but read literature and theology as well, and kept himself informed on all the leading questions of the day.

Herman M. Johnson, the professor of the ancient languages and literature, was scholarly, critical, and exact. He was an untiring student, and it was no uncommon thing to find him in his own room poring over a Hebrew Bible or an Arabic grammar, with Gesenius's Lexicon or Freytag's Dictionary open by its side. French was to him a mental recreation. He became familiar with the various dialects of the Greek language, and one of the fruits of his labor in this department of study is his text-book on Herodotus. His scholarship was accurate and not derived at second hand; he studied and investigated for himself.

In one of his classes in Vergil a student

rendered the words of Juno, Ego quæ divum incedo regina, "I, who walk majestically queen of the gods." The professor instantly interrupted him: "Where do you find the term 'majestically?" "Why," said the student, "that is included in the word incedo." This is Anthon's explanation, which the student adopted. "Nonsense," replied the professor; "it shows the motion of a crab as much as of a queen." Since then I have never used the term to describe the royal stride of Queen Elizabeth or the pompous cake-walk of a Negro couple.

In his classes Professor Johnson required word for word translations of the Latin and Greek lessons, the better to show the idiomatic forms of the languages. But in the review exercises he allowed more liberal translations; yet the thought of the classic writers was with him more than the English style. He gave special attention to the syntax and etymology of these tongues, not so much to the prosody. Crosby's Greek

Grammar, then recently published, was introduced as a text-book. It was new in its exhibition of the Greek verb. "Had it been published abroad," says a judicious critic, "there would have been no end to its praises." But, however excellent this grammar is, there are some better, both in the matter and the arrangement—though none in their treatment of the structure and forms of the language. In my own studies I have preferred Kühner and Buttman—the one for Ionic and Epic Greek, the other for Attic. Both have been rivaled by Curtius, who, not so full, is perhaps simpler. But the final Greek grammar is yet to be written.

Professor Johnson was genial and interesting in conversation, and he had a large fund of information from which to draw. He had some humor and a good share of wit. When Dr. Merrick was finishing his house on Oak Hill, where he afterward resided for so many years, with Gothic windows and ornamental gables, he invited some

of his college friends to go with him and see it. After taking them through the building, he said, "Come, now, I will show you my finial"—the front pinnacle of the roof—pronouncing the word fine-ale. Professor Johnson immediately spoke up, "Why, Professor, I always thought you were a temperance man!"

In hearing his classes, he never corrected a student by abruptly "calling him down" and telling him that his rendering was wrong, but he used to say, "No, Mr. A., you 've hardly got the idea; or, at least, you do not express it clearly. You may have apprehended the main thought, but your reading does not quite convey it in English." At one of the examinations he asked a pupil a question about some date in history. The answer was widely at variance with the fact, and the professor, without naming the date, said, "H-a-r-d-l-y the time; a little later than that"—and it was three hundred years later!

Professor Johnson was familiar with general literature, and had it at his command to illustrate and exemplify his instructions in the languages. He was fond of poetry, and when Longfellow's "Hiawatha" and Philip James Bailey's "Festus" were published, he read them with delight. From the latter he once quoted with pleasing aptness the following lines, in a letter to his wife, who was on a visit to her early home:

"Aye,
My thoughts are ever, love, with thee;
And thine I know as frequent fly
O'er all that severs us to me;—
Like rays of stars that meet in space,
And mingle in their bright embrace."

In making one of our Latin translations, he once suggested that Cicero's words, Sursus, deorsus, ultro, citro commeantibus, were almost exactly reproduced in English by Thomson in his "Seasons" (Summer),

where he is describing the motion of a cloud of insects in the sun:

"Upward and downward, thwarting and convolved."

And in Horace's "Art of Poetry," in his closing lines, where he is describing a bore, he thought the Latin order of the words was the best also in English:

"Never ready to let go the skin until full of blood,—a leech!"

Professor Johnson was the first to suggest and devise the system of cheap scholarships in the university. His plan was adopted by the trustees, and agents were appointed by the patronizing Conferences to sell and collect the funds for them. One mistake was made; that is, in not fixing a limit after which they should not be available. A few are good in perpetuity, and all are good until used. Had the year 1920 been set as the limit, they would probably

have been just as salable, for the purchasers wanted them for their children, not for their grandchildren and their later descendants; and the university would not be hampered with them after that date. However, they are now nearly all used. The money derived from them, a few thousand dollars, was added to the permanent fund. But the university can not depend on small gifts obtained in this way. It needs large donations and liberal bequests to promote the cause of religious education.

WILLIAM G. WILLIAMS became professor of the ancient languages and literature after Herman M. Johnson resigned, and taught both Latin and Greek until his department was divided, when he was made professor of Greek. He had also classes in Hebrew and Biblical Literature. He was studious from his boyhood, and ever had

[&]quot;The wish to know,—that endless thirst, Which e'en by quenching is awaked."

His father had a large library, and many of the books were of a doctrinal and theological character; and he early acquired a taste for Biblical subjects, which developed into a lifelong study of the Greek Testament, especially Paul's Epistle to the Romans. At college he seemed to prefer the mathematics, and he demonstrated the theory of a perpetual motion by an ingenious combination of constants and variables. But he was also fond of the languages, and almost the first article he ever sent to the press was while he was still a student at college. It was a translation from the Greek accompanied with an historical introduction and notes. Thus early he began to exhibit his critical skill and ability.

All the helps the first members of the faculty needed in their private studies, or in giving instruction, they were compelled to purchase for themselves, as the university had no funds for books. Professor Williams had an arrangement with the

Methodist Book Concern in Cincinnati to purchase for him at wholesale rates any work that he wanted, and he desired to procure Horne Tooke's "Diversions of Purley." Leroy Swormstedt was then Agent. and the professor thought it necessary to explain to him, in ordering the book, that it is not a volume of sports or popular amusements, but a treatise on English inflection and etymology. For Mr. Swormstedt had scruples about buying or selling books of a doubtful character, although on an order. and refused even to keep Shakespeare on his shelves. He thought it would be an encouragement of the drama, and he would not thus countenance play-going. Tooke's "Diversions" is of not much value in modern philology, but it was in its day a suggestive and stimulating work,—and curious.

I can not speak personally of Professor Williams as a teacher, for during my college days I had no recitations in his classes. I only know that he pursued a system of

instruction like that of Professor Johnson, who "set the pace" in the department of languages. But his pupils have always regarded him with reverence and affection. Bishop Hoss, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, says of him:

"In no respect was he ordinary or commonplace. To begin with, he was a great scholar. The range of his acquisitions was exceedingly wide, almost encyclopædic; and it was not superficial. He had an absolute passion for accuracy and thoroughness. Slipshod and imperfect knowledge in his eyes was no knowledge at all. His intellectual honesty was so pronounced that he looked with undisguised contempt on whatever is shallow or pretentious in learning.

"He was a great teacher. What he knew he could communicate to others. His classroom expositions were marked by crystal clearness of statement. To misunderstand him was almost an impossibility. His power of stimulus and provocation was wonderful.

Even the dullest boy woke up under his methods of instruction, and those of higher endowment often went out of his presence ablaze with inspiration.

"He was a great theologian. From his youth up he had brooded persistently and devoutly over the mighty issues of life and destiny. God, and man's relations to God, these were his supreme problem. He was not a rash, but a patient thinker. His theology was not of a vagrant and nondescript sort, but was drawn by processes of rational interpretation from the Holy Scriptures, and stood the test of harmonious correspondence to the sanest and soundest conclusions of psychology. With the Greek Testament concerning which he felt as Heinrich Ewald did, that 'there is nothing good or great in the world outside of this little book'-he was as familiar as an anatomist is with the human frame. On that foundation he stood with both feet."

His correspondence was extensive, and

he wrote much; but his contributions to the periodical literature of the Church were not numerous. He was slow to satisfy himself as to their merit; yet they were well received by the reading public, and some of them attracted attention at home and abroad. The only volumes which he published were "Outlines of English Grammar," for the use of teachers in the institutes before which he lectured, and a work on "Baptism," being a discussion of the words, "Buried with Christ by Baptism." His "Exposition of the Epistle of Paul to the Romans," on which he had been engaged for several years, was not printed until after his death.

It would scarcely be becoming in me to attempt a delineation of his life and character. This, if done at all, should be attempted by persons not so nearly related to him by blood. Suffice it for me to say that he was fraternal and helpful, not only to his own, but to others. He was liberal with his means, and in his charities he did not let

his left hand know what his right hand did. He was loyal to the Church; faithful in the discharge of his duties; instant in every good word and work; and served his day and generation with unwearied attention until he had rounded out full fifty-seven years of professional life in the university. He heard his classes as usual on the very day that he was stricken down with paralysis.

Lorenzo D. McCabe succeeded Solomon Howard as professor of mathematics in 1845. Professor Howard had occupied the chair only one year. Professor McCabe was young and enthusiastic, and delighted to teach. He was affable, somewhat juvenile in his manner, and was popular among the students and the community. When he preached, all were delighted to hear him. His style was florid, and though not pedantic—he never exhibited any trace of pedantry—he was fond of high-flown speech, always so captivating to young minds. He constantly refined to excess. He "piled on the agony."

But in ordinary conversation, or in giving instruction, he was natural and easy. Only in his public addresses he allowed his fancy to play at riot with his emotions.

In his private devotions he yearned for a richer, fuller, higher spiritual life. He had his personal antipathies and predilections, as all of us have, and he carried them with him to the grave. Yet he practiced holiness, subject to the imperfections of this mortal coil. He never was satisfied with his attainments in grace. He was forever endeavoring to grow, and continually reaching forward to those things that are before. He prayed that he might at length apprehend that for which also he was apprehended of Jesus Christ. This is shown by his little tract entitled "Light on the Pathway of Holiness."

When his first wife, Martha Sewall Mc-Cabe, died, he mourned for her with genuine sorrow, and she was worthy of his lamentation. But he cultivated his grief un-

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til it became morbid. He even seemed to take pleasure in it. Mrs. McCabe was a charming woman, gentle, generous, modest, and sweet-spirited. She was well educated, and in social intercourse was a magnet that drew all hearts to her. No one could tell a story with finer effect, nor read from a book in a happier manner. I once heard her read Hans Andersen's story of "The Ugly Duck," and the music of her voice I seem still to hear—like the words of the Seraph in the ears of Adam long after the angel had ceased to speak.

It was the professor's custom to prepare and write one sermon every month, both to keep in practice as a minister of the gospel, and to be always in readiness to preach whenever he was called on in an emergency. His sermons were rarely textual, but rather topical. He once wrote a discourse on Sobriety, but had not selected a text for it until just as he was leaving his room with the manuscript in his pocket, to deliver it

at the William Street Church. Then, hastily looking in the Concordance for the word sober, he found a reference to Titus ii, 4, which he jotted down on the paper; and, without reading it until he rose in the pulpit to speak, he announced his text, and then turned the leaves of the Bible to find it. He was rather taken aback to read: "That they may teach the young women to be sober." It was sufficiently pertinent, however, to his theme.

Professor McCabe knew nothing of what is called "the Higher Criticism." He did not want to know. He was only a student and a follower, not a critic of the Word, though he assumed the rôle of critic in his works on the "Foreknowledge of God," and "Divine Nescience," which he thought to be a complete refutation of the Calvinistic doctrine of decrees. His theory is not new. It had been broached long years, even centuries, before his time, and it was only through a hint of the subject given him by

Professor Hoyt that he undertook the study of it himself. This he carried on independently. The theory is plausible, but no modern Biblical scholar has accepted it. The mysteries of Divine knowledge have never yet been unfolded by finite intelligence.

He was not a bookish man, yet he read some works with absorbing interest. One of these is Bledsoe's "Theodicy." Of this work he said that it is nothing more than a restatement of our Wesleyan theology, with the doctrines of which he had been familiar since he first studied for the ministry.

He had no patience with any species of irreverence, and was equally intolerant of doubt and heresy. He was one morning conducting religious services in the old college chapel, when, in the midst of his prayer, he was annoyed by two or three of the students sitting up and whispering in the rear of the room. He stopped suddenly in the middle of a sentence and spoke out in a loud and peremptory tone of voice, "Stop

that noise." Immediately there was breathless silence, and the professor went on with his prayer.

There was at one time some discussion among the members of the faculty, and perhaps the more advanced students, on the subject of Inspiration. No one denied the fact; they disagreed as to the mode. John McClintock had just published an article in the Methodist Quarterly Review, of which he was editor, stating that the theory of verbal inspiration had never been taught until quite recent times; that it was unknown to the fathers of the Church, and that it never appeared in any creed or confession of the faith either of the Roman Catholic or Protestant communions. This statement was doubted by Professor Harris, and an examination of the Church histories and the writings of the fathers convinced him that it was not entirely correct. Accordingly he wrote for the Western Christian Advocate an article confuting the Doctor's general as-

sertion. He did not discuss the subject of inspiration itself, but simply the historical question, "Is the doctrine of verbal inspiration modern or ancient?" He showed that it is ancient, whether it was or was not generally accepted by the Church, or formed a portion of Church creed in the early ages of Christian history.

But this led to the study of the doctrine itself. Most of the faculty, including the president, accepted the theory of verbal inspiration, but especially Professor McCabe. He was so extremely orthodox that he was inclined to believe all the discrepancies of the Word of God to be the direct dictation of the Spirit! And to teach and defend wholesome doctrine he persuaded President Thomson to deliver a lecture on the subject. This lecture appears among the Doctor's published writings. But the theory can be applied only to the Hebrew and Greek originals, of course, and not to the English or other translations; yet we acknowledge the

essential inspiration of the Word of God in whatever tongue.

Like that of all the other McCabes, the professor's hair began to turn gray early in life. For a long while he was very sensitive about it, and tried to disguise it, as it appeared to him a mark of advancing age, and he wanted to look young, as he felt young. When at last he was compelled to submit to the inevitable, he did not care so much about the matter among his intimate friends and associates, who knew him well; but among strangers the case was different. He once went out into the country to preach —to Berkshire, perhaps—and after the congregation was dismissed one of his hearers came up to him and, shaking his hand, greeted him with, "How do you do, Father McCabe?" The professor's sensitiveness immediately returned as he responded, "I'm barely able to crawl, as you see."

During the first year of the university's existence Mr. Dial resigned, and WILLIAM

L. Harris, then pastor of the William Street Church, was employed by the Executive Committee to hear some of the classes in the preparatory department, for the remainder of the year. He exhibited so much ability and earnestness as a teacher—a characteristic trait of his life—that at the end of the term the trustees elected him to give his whole time to the work of instruction. He thus served one year, 1845-46. But the North Ohio Conference needed his services in the regular pastorate (at least his presiding elder, John H. Power, so insisted, and Mr. Power was a trustee of the university!), and he was appointed to Toledo. This was for him an unfortunate field of labor, for during the year he was attacked with persistent malarial fever, so that he became unable to preach. He was greatly missed in Delaware, and Professor McCabe said, "It does not look like home with Harris away." To save his life, he was compelled to get away from Toledo and the influence of that

swampy region; and in 1847 he was stationed at Norwalk, where he had formerly been a pupil in the seminary.

In 1848 he was elected principal of Baldwin Institute, at Berea, Ohio, and at the close of the Conference year he removed to that place. Mr. Power was no longer presiding elder, and could interpose no objection. At Berea, Mr. Harris exhibited fine executive ability and aptness in teaching, even more fully than he had done in Delaware. He had a taste for mathematics, and in that department he was a master. He became well acquainted with the transformation and resolution of equations, and sometimes employed new processes. He was once showing a class of students how to work out a problem involving unknown quantities. He used a novel method to begin with, and a mathematical professor who was present, and who prided himself on his attainments in mathematics, remarked, "You can not solve the problem in that way." He

had boasted that he knew every intricacy in Algebra—but he did not know the resources of his rival. Mr. Harris went on with his work qualis ab incepto, and brought it to a triumphant conclusion. His method was clear, consistent, and consecutive—and the mathematical teacher had to retire beaten in his own profession.

But it was in the experimental rather than in the exact sciences or in literature that he most delighted. He learned by his own efforts and study to perform all the experiments needed to illustrate the chemistry and philosophy taught in the schools. To the principalship of the Academical Department he was called, or rather recalled, to the Ohio Wesleyan University in 1851, and was the next year elected professor of Chemistry and Natural Science. He was once experimenting with the "laughing gas," or nitrous oxygen, and administered it in the proper quantity to one of his students. There was great exhilaration of spirits in the subject of the

experiment; and when, after the influence had passed off, he was asked how he felt, he replied, "O, I felt as if every hair on my head was a jews'-harp."

Professor Harris was a generous liver. and, like "old King Cole" in the nursery rime, was "a jolly old soul." He was domestic in his habits, but was fond of company, and in the society of his friends was full of good cheer and animation. His laugh was hearty and contagious. He had a fine presence, a good voice, and was a ready speaker. His sermons, though seldom written, were carefully thought out before delivery; and, not being hampered with manuscript, he was better able to look his hearers in the eye and to get inspiration from their countenances. A speaker can thus always know when he is "striking fire." He was at times eloquent; and even commonplace utterances were impressive because of his manner. He was always plain in his discourses, seldom indulging in flights of imagination,

and never using embellishments of rhetoric. He had little of the poetic in his temperament, and it is doubtful if he ever read any volume of poetry through. An occasional short piece in a magazine or newspaper would strike his fancy, and I once heard him at his own house read with evident relish Thomas Buchanan Read's poem on "The Celestial Army," which was printed anonymously in some magazine or review which he had received. None of us who heard him knew at that time who was the author.

Professor Harris was a pupil at Norwalk Seminary when Jonathan E. Chaplin was the principal. He supported himself by the labor of his own hands, yet applied himself closely to his studies. Some of the work which he performed was for the seminary itself, and when he left the school he insisted that it was still a dollar in his debt! He used to tell how the principal once illustrated to the class in rhetoric the difference

between the common and the poetic style. "In one of Mrs. Barbauld's Prose Hymns" [No. xiii], said the instructor, "occur these lines: 'Child of mortality, whence comest thou? Why is thy countenance sad, and why are thine eyes red with weeping?' This," he went on, "is the poetic style. Now listen to the common style: 'Child of mortality, where did you come from? What makes your eyes look so red, and what have you been crying about?'" In literature we would naturally look for the finer style; for a newspaper report we would expect the other.

Professor Harris had a well-selected library, of which he made diligent use; and for easy transportation as a circuit preacher he had a number of long boxes constructed, about twelve inches wide, and of sufficient depth to contain a row of books. The lids were screwed on, instead of being nailed, so as to be easily removed; and these boxes piled up on their sides, one above another,

made his book-shelves. This plan is the same as that now adopted by some of the house-furnishing companies for their "elastic" or sectional bookcases. He was the author of "The Powers of the General Conference" and "The Relations of the Episcopacy to the General Conference," both works of value. He was also joint author with Judge W. J. Henry of a work on "Ecclesiastical Law," having special reference to the Methodist Episcopal Church. For this he was thoroughly competent, as he had studied law before he entered the ministry. Though he knew "small Latin and less Greek," he became a good Hebrew scholar, and prepared a minute Index to Nordheimer's Hebrew Grammar, which he studied.

Of the later members of the faculty, the successors or colleagues of the original seven here mentioned, it is not my purpose to speak. Though I have known most of them personally, I have had a college acquaintance with very few of them. Here-

after, when some contemporary records his memories of student days at Delaware, he will be able to tell of their qualities and style, and "let their own works praise them in the gates."







